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SEP 23

EDITORIAL

THE NEW RED-BAITING

In a lengthy letter appearing in this issue (see page 258), Samuel T. Francis complains about Frank Donner's article on proposals to change Federal Bureau of Investigation guidelines ("Rounding Up the Usual Suspects," August 7-14).

In the penultimate paragraph of that letter, Francis writes: "In the 1950s, Donner was identified as having been a Communist in the 1940s. When afforded an opportunity to refute the sworn allegations, he declined and refused to answer the question (though he later denied that he was a Communist at the time he was questioned). It is not for me to say whether Donner is, was or ever has been a supporter of Joseph Stalin, but until he has at least clarified these allegations, the rest of us—particularly Senator Denton, who has served his country heroically—should not have to suffer his foul mouth."

Donner, perhaps this country's leading authority on governmental surveillance of political groups and a valued contributor to *The Nation* for more than forty years, can take care of himself and will respond to Francis's letter next week. Here we will simply note that there is an unfashionable word for what Francis is doing: Red-baiting.

Francis's attempt at *ad hominem* intimidation by forty-year-old association requires no further comment. However, he chose to accompany his letter with a covering note written on the stationery of Senator John East, for whom he toils as a legislative assistant, as if the letterhead gave an official sanction to this kind of dirty business. The manner of discourse adopted by Francis in his reply to Donner's article, so reminiscent of that employed by the minions of another Senator, Joe McCarthy, is merely despicable. But if his use of his employer's letterhead was with East's permission—that is alarming.

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PUBLIC EDUCATION CRISIS

TIME TO POLITICIZE THE SCHOOLS

JEAN BETHKE ELSHTAIN

"The left," Christopher Lasch has argued, "has turned its back on its proper constituency—the people who cling to family life, religion, the work ethic, and other ostensibly outmoded values as the only source of stability in an otherwise precarious existence. . . . The American left, in its unexamined commitment to positions it believes to be 'anti-authoritarian,' has repeatedly forced the legitimate need for authority, stability, and continuity to find reactionary political outlets."

There is great truth to Lasch's critique, and it applies as well to the current crisis in American public education. Once again, many liberals and radicals are hoisting the banner that schools must be "free" from "external control" (by which they mean the wishes of parents), thus evading some tough questions about the ways in which moral and cultural values are, or are not, taught there. In the process, the schools have become a cultural battleground.

Defenders of public education picture it as under attack by repressive right-wingers, evangelical hotheads and assorted irrational and unenlightened parents. The critics, however, do not fit any neat stereotype. They are found along the entire political spectrum, from radical right to radical left. What unites them is the belief that public schools are not what they claim to be, namely, impartial disseminators of knowledge and dispassionate arbiters of the controversies generated by cultural pluralism. The critics ask where, and why, did things go wrong? (This question presumes, of course, that in the past things were "right," which may not be the case.)

(*Continued on Page 267*)

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EXCHANGE.

The Francis-Donner Letters (I)

Washington, D.C.

It would appear that in the last two years I have become something of an obsession to the contributors of *The Nation*. In 1981, this magazine published an attack on the Heritage Foundation's *Mandate for Leadership* [Jay Peterzell, "Unleashing the Dogs of McCarthyism," Jan. 17, 1981], specifically on the section dealing with internal security, which I wrote, in the chapter on the intelligence community. This summer, *The Nation* published a hostile review of *The New Right Papers* [Philip Green, "Apple-Pie Authoritarians," July 3], to which I was a contributor. The review dwelled on my essay in that collection and made an absurd attempt to link it with Nazi and Fascist ideology. Now *The Nation* has published an even more absurd article by Frank Donner, "Rounding Up the Usual Suspects," in the August 7-14 issue. It is curious that an obscure staff aide on Capitol Hill should attract this much attention, and even curiouser that the attention should be as hostile as it has been.

I have deliberately refrained from responding to these attacks, partly because my work has not permitted me time to reply and partly because I simply do not have the inclination to chase the *Nation* contributors around the political cabbage patch. Although friends and colleagues have urged me to reply—indeed, in one case to consider legal action—not until the most recent barrage did I decide that a response was in order.

Unlike the earlier attacks, Donner's article is directed not only at me personally but also at a serious issue of national policy, the projected revision of the Attorney General's guidelines for domestic security investigations (the Levi guidelines) by the Federal Bureau of Investigation. For good or ill, my name has been publicly associated with the controversy over the guidelines, and it is important that Donner not be allowed to boast, as is his habit, that he has "refuted" or "discredited" my position in this controversy by an article that is replete with logical fallacies, factual errors, debaters' artifices and the most vituperative insults.

Although Donner is ostensibly writing about the hearings on the Levi guidelines held by the Senate Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism on June 24 and 25, the bulk of his article does not deal with the hearings, and none of it deals with the actual testimony of the witnesses. Nearly three-fourths of the article focuses on a lecture I delivered in Boston at Emerson College in April on the subject of the guidelines, my criticism of them and my suggestions for revising them. Prior to his effort to refute my presentation in Boston point by point, however, Donner devotes a paragraph to my academic background and to the *Mandate for Leadership* report.

It is not clear to me why Donner chooses to dwell on the subject of my doctoral dissertation, unless it is to suggest that I have no academic expertise in a subject on which I have repeatedly been asked to write and speak. If this is his suggestion, one can only marvel at his pedantry, since it is commonplace for academics to develop expertise in a second field. In any case, Donner follows his reference to my dissertation topic with a gratuitous and unexplained insult to my monograph "The Soviet Strategy of Terror," calling it "an unintentional parody of the genre." What "genre" he is talking about and why my monograph is a "parody" he does not bother to explain. Incidentally, Donner's first factual error occurs at this point: I did not begin work at the Heritage Foundation after earning my doctorate, as he states. I received my doctorate in 1979, two years after coming to the foundation. The point is of little importance, but it reveals the sloppiness of Donner's research and the cavalier manner in which he treats factual precision.

More important, I did not advocate in *Mandate for Leadership* that the Levi guidelines be "scrapped." Nor did I advocate this in my speech in Boston, as Donner states. In everything I have ever written or said on the subject, I have urged the *revision* of the existing guidelines and the need for some guidelines for domestic security investigations. This vitally important distinction between reform and revision, on the one hand, and outright abolition on the other is ignored by Donner.

He then reiterates the stale, hysterical and inaccurate criticism of the *Mandate for Leadership* section on internal security that has been floating around the American left for two years. This criticism was effectively refuted, the out-of-context quotations and inaccurately compressed paraphrases corrected, in a letter from Phil N. Truluck, executive vice president of the Heritage Foundation, to Representative Thomas J. Downey, which was published in the *Congressional Record* on December 16, 1980 (p. E5447). Downey's criticism of this section was published in the *Record* on November 19, 1980 (p. E5005). I refer the reader to these citations, but to repeat the substance of Truluck's corrections once more:

(*1*) I did not advocate that the F.B.I. "monitor [whatever that means] a broad selection of targets ranging from 'radical and New Left groups' to 'anti-defense and anti-nuclear lobbies.'" I did mention a range of extremist or foreign-connected groups (including some right-wing ones) as actual or potential internal security threats. I do believe the F.B.I. should be allowed to investigate at least some of the groups I mentioned, but it is impossible to specify which techniques or levels of investigation would be appropriate. Among the groups I mentioned that I considered then (and consider now) to be internal security threats are the foreign-linked Communist parties and the active terrorist groups (e.g., the F.A.L.N.) and their supporters. There is no doubt in my mind that these groups should be under intense investigation.

(*2*) It is not true that I stated, and I do not believe, that, in Donner's words, "the nation's security requires the surveillance of 'clergymen, students, businessmen,'" etc. The quotation from the *Mandate* concerning clergymen et al. is torn out of context. That context is a discussion of the nature of subversion and of how innocent parties can be unwittingly deceived, exploited and manipulated for ulterior ends. The passage has nothing to do with "surveillance."

(*3*) Donner is also wrong when he states that the *Mandate for Leadership* section says "the K.G.B. has penetrated all levels of government and also operates a vast network of proxies and spies." The K.G.B., as well as other foreign intelligence services, is indeed active in the United States—probably more so now than at any time in the past—as Congressional testimony, the statements of defectors, responsible investigative reporting and a number of recent espionage cases have shown. The *Mandate* did comment on this fact, but that is quite different from asserting that the K.G.B. has penetrated "all levels" of government, a claim I have never made and have no reason to believe. Once again, Donner's exaggerations deceive the reader.

It is doubtful to me that Donner has ever bothered to read the actual text of the *Mandate for Leadership* section on internal security. It is more probable that he has simply relied on the news accounts and editorials that were written about it. This is indicated by the fact that he offers no quotations from the *Mandate* that did not appear earlier in these secondary sources and by his inaccurate reference to "the Heritage Foundation's report 'The Intelligence Community.'" There is no such report; there is a chapter with that title in the *Mandate for Leadership*. I was the editor of that chapter and the author of the section within it on internal security. If Donner had ever seen the volume, he would not have made this elementary error.

I might humbly suggest that Donner submit himself to the pursuit of an academic discipline for a few years, even to so esoteric a subject as the foreign policy of the Earl of Clarendon. He would find that one cannot easily complete an acceptable dissertation in any field unless he carefully corroborates his facts, reads the texts on which he is commenting, is precise in his logic, makes some effort

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EDITORIALS.

The Marcos Visit

Philippine President Ferdinand Marcos's thirteen-day state visit to the United States comes at a critical juncture in his seventeen-year reign. The political opposition to his so-called "authoritarian democracy" has intensified during the past twelve months, causing the nervous dictator to order the arrest of eighty dissidents, many of them labor leaders, on the eve of his departure for this country.

The alliance that has been forged between leaders of the traditional political opposition and the New People's Army (the military wing of the Communist Party of the Philippines) under the umbrella of the National Democratic Front poses a significant threat to Marcos and is reminiscent of the broad-based coalition that overthrew Anastasio Somoza in Nicaragua.

The deterioration of Marcos's health in the past few months has further weakened his authority, and the Philippine Constitution does not provide for an orderly transition in the event of his death while in office. Although Marcos wants to designate the First Lady, Imelda Marcos, as his successor, the Reagan Administration favors the selection of a stronger political figure as his eventual replacement. The State Department fears a reprise of what happened in Argentina after the death of Juan Peron, when his wife, Isabel, took over and was ousted in a military coup. The department undoubtedly has some candidates of its own in mind, who can be counted on to bolster American economic and strategic interests in the islands.

The United States has much at stake in the Philippines. In

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addition to wanting to protect the extensive American business interests there, the Administration wants to renew the five-year leases for Subic Naval Base and Clark Air Base, which expire at the end of 1983. Marcos, of course, will use renewal as a bargaining chip to extract more economic and military aid.

The Washington talks are being watched closely by Marcos's opponents. If Washington does not solve the transition problem, there will be an increased likelihood of a power struggle upon Marcos's death. The vacuum could be filled by either a military coup or a takeover by the National Democratic Front, backed by the N.P.A. The Front's accession to power would mean the end of nearly a century of U.S. domination of the Philippines.

Not unrelated to the growing threat of Marcos's opposition was the signing by his government of a new extradition treaty with the United States last November. Many of Marcos's fiercest opponents live in the United States, including former Senator Benigno Aquino Jr. and Rene Cruz, editor of an anti-Marcos newspaper that enjoys wide circulation among Filipinos living in this country. Not long after the treaty was signed, the Philippine government filed subversion charges against forty exiled dissidents, including Aquino and Cruz, and it will seek their extradition.

The treaty continues the practice, long established in U.S. law, of prohibiting extradition for a "political offense." However, it states that if "any question arises as to the application of" that prohibition, "it shall be the responsibility of the Executive Authority of the Requested State to decide." Shortly before the treaty was signed, Senator Strom Thurmond introduced a bill that would have eliminated all judicial review of extradition decisions. Although the bill that ultimately emerged from the Senate August 19 allows for some judicial review, it is so circumscribed as to be practically worthless.

In the past, judicial review has provided the only real protection for political exiles whose governments seek their extradition in order to imprison and silence them. The Senate bill effectively leaves determination of whether or not an exile qualifies for the "political defense exception" to the Secretary of State, who is likely to be motivated more by foreign policy considerations than by the need to protect individual rights. As long ago as 1852, Supreme Court Justice John Catron wrote: "Extradition without an unbiased hearing before an independent judiciary is highly dangerous to liberty and ought never to be allowed." And as recently as last year a Federal District judge noted: "This unbiased hearing before an independent judiciary is particularly necessary in cases where the political offense exception is at issue."

Senate approval of the treaty may hinge on the legislative outcome of the Senate bill (a less restrictive bill has been introduced in the House by Representative William Hughes). If judicial review is not eliminated by an act of Congress, the treaty will probably have to be renegotiated, because it conflicts with a long line of Supreme Court rulings. The dismal human rights record of the Marcos regime underscores the need to retain the constitutional protections for political exiles living in this country.

Time for Dissent

The assassination last week of Lebanon's President-elect Bashir Gemayel may well have been a simple act of revenge. He was a man who lived by the gun, a murderer whose victims included Christians and Moslems alike. If the motives were political, however, the deed becomes more difficult to understand, for, aside from removing a figure who was unpopular with many Lebanese, killing Gemayel can only hinder that battered nation's desperate search for peace. Assassinations create "facts" that seem to demand further violence and that narrow the nonviolent options. Moreover, Gemayel's murder symbolizes the danger of Israel's attempt to impose peace through violence.

Many Israelis understand that danger; their strong dissent in the midst of war was the best proof that, as Col. Mordecai M. Bar-on has said, "The war has not corrupted the moral fiber of Israeli society." Bar-on, a leader of Peace Now, which helped organize an antiwar rally in Tel Aviv that drew 100,000 people, said of the demonstration: "One has to see this as a high point in the moral stamina of those who oppose Begin's policies."

Even more remarkable than the civilian resistance has been the open dissent within the Israeli military establishment. Col. Eli Geva asked to be relieved of his command in Lebanon as a protest against General Sharon's West Beirut siege, and there have been others. On August 29, for example, Eliahu Gozansky was sentenced to twenty-eight days in military prison for refusing to serve in Lebanon. A group of reserve soldiers formed an organization called "There Is A Limit" and collected the signatures of more than 300 reservists on a petition that was sent to Prime Minister Begin. The group recently released the following statement:

> We declare, as reserve soldiers and officers of the Israeli Defense Forces, that there is a limit to our willingness to comply with the ventures of Begin and Sharon. We pledge loyalty to the defense of the state of Israel, but not to embark upon wars and conquests in which we have no part and through which we are led to commit crimes of war. We ask those responsible for the IDF: Don't send us to Lebanon! . . . And when you mark new arrows on your maps, indicating offensives against the Syrians in the "Biqua" against Tripoli, and who knows what else, count us out, for there is a limit—the border!

Given the controversy in Israel over the Lebanon war, President Reagan's recent peace proposals take on a tremendous significance. They focus debate on the future of the West Bank and provide Israeli dissenters with the political opportunity to unseat Begin's rejectionist government. Attitudes are already changing. Colonel Bar-on cites polls indicating that fully 48 percent of the electorate is prepared to see the West Bank become a Palestinian homeland under certain conditions.

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It is no longer inconceivable that, under the proper circumstances, the Israeli people would countenance negotiations with the Palestine Liberation Organization. But before that happens, Israelis must see clear evidence of Palestinian dissent from their side's prevailing orthodoxy—an open, courageous dissent commensurate with that in Israel. All they have had so far have been formulaic statements from Issam Sartawi and even Yasir Arafat couched in ambiguous language and intended to influence the American gallery. The Arab League's proposals are merely another example of this game-playing.

It is time for both individual Palestinians and the P.L.O. to lift the veil from their internal debates, in which opinions are expressed that contradict the monolithic party line. We know this debate exists, for Palestinians speak of it in private.

We do not ask the denizens of the refugee camps in Lebanon, Syria and Jordan to "moderate" their historic grievances, but the time has come for a dialogue, and that requires the free expression of Palestinian views in all their diversity. Such a dialogue cannot be conducted under—or with—the gun, even though the gun has become a symbol of Palestinian resistance. The Palestinians would immeasurably advance their national aspirations if they renounced armed struggle in favor of a concerted campaign of civil disobedience, demonstrations and strikes in the West Bank and Gaza. They might discover that more than a few Israelis would join them. Time is running out and Begin is creating facts of his own in the West Bank that, like the assassination of Gemayel, will hinder the prospects for peace.

Empty Showcase

Officials in both Manila and Washington hail the Philippines as a success story that shows what Western-style economic development, fueled by billions of dollars from international lending agencies, can do. But evidence contained in more than 6,000 pages of documents leaked by the World Bank's office in Manila shatters the myth that the country is a "showcase" of economic development. The documents reveal that this staunch U.S. ally faces a serious economic and political crisis that could cause President Marcos's downfall.

Planners at the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the U.S. Agency for International Development expected that massive infusions of loans for programs aimed at "basic needs" rural development and "export-oriented" industrialization, like that achieved so successfully by South Korea and Taiwan, would result in sustained economic growth for the Philippines. After Marcos imposed martial law in 1972, the World Bank became the main financial backer of these projects, and it has pumped in more than $3 billion in loans for agricultural, urban and industrial modernization.

Two of the leaked World Bank reports, however, detail the massive failure of the bank's programs for Philippine development. The 600-page "Poverty Report," prepared by a team of World Bank experts in 1979, discloses that despite an outlay of several billion dollars on a variety of programs designed to help the poor, the number of Filipino families living in "absolute poverty" rose dramatically during the 1970s. According to the report, by 1975 more than half of all Filipinos were unable to meet their basic needs.

The World Bank's total investment in agricultural projects alone was about $1 billion. The objective was to raise productivity by introducing the higher-yield seeds and improved farming techniques of the "green revolution." Instead, the report notes, there was a 23 percent rise in absolute poverty in rural areas during the first half of the 1970s. Philippine government studies show that the trend continued between 1976 and 1979, when rice farmers' real incomes declined by 53 percent. Poverty in urban areas rose even more sharply during the decade, according to the report, as thousands of victims of rural "modernization" and the regime's failed land-reform program fled to the burgeoning urban slums. While government officials boasted that the country had achieved "export capacity" in rice—the staple of the national diet—millions of Filipinos had become too poor to afford even the minimum caloric intake essential to their survival.

The World Bank's "basic needs" strategy to raise living standards in the countryside was centered on funding large-scale irrigation projects and providing loans to "smallholders." But these measures bypassed the majority of Filipino peasants, who were too poor to take advantage of them. For example, when the bank financed new irrigation facilities, it insisted that the fees charged to farmers for use of the water should more than cover construction and administrative costs. Having already invested heavily in the seeds, fertilizers and pesticides required by the new agriculture, many smallholders went under and simply abandoned their land.

According to the second secret report, known as the "Ascher Memorandum" after Johns Hopkins University professor William Ascher, who prepared the political-economic analysis in 1980, "There is an almost universal perception in the Philippines that income distribution is deteriorating." Ascher concludes, "The political implication of this perception . . . has been . . . to detract from the popularity of the Marcos administration and to bring into question the sincerity and competence of the 'New Society' program."

The fourteen-page memorandum paints a vivid picture of an inept dictatorship skirting the edge of economic and political chaos. Ascher's strongest indictment is reserved for Marcos's attempt to turn the Philippines into an "export platform" for international manufacturing corporations. Ascher writes that the "export-oriented" strategy has been a fiasco for three reasons. First, it was launched at a time when there was a decline in the global economy and a rising tide of protectionism among the Western nations that served as the principal markets for Philippine products. Second, Marcos met intense resistance from Philippine

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businessmen whose interests were directly threatened by the planned internationalization of the country's economy. Finally, the resurgence of an independent Philippine labor movement undermined foreign investors' confidence that the country would continue to provide the cheap labor pool that has been its chief attraction to industry.

The two secret World Bank reports reveal in full and official detail just how economically shaky the Marcos regime really is. It is no wonder that the Philippine dictator, whose "principal economic achievement," according to *Fortune*, "has been to help his friends and relatives build giant conglomerates," came to Washington seeking a massive bailout from his sympathetic host, Ronald Reagan.

DAVID KINLEY AND ELAINE ELINSON

David Kinley and Elaine Elinson are co-authors of Development Debacle: The World Bank in the Philippines, *to be published this month by the Institute for Food and Development Policy and the Philippine Solidarity Network of San Francisco. This article was produced with the assistance of the Center for Investigative Reporting.*

Place of No Pity

For the past fourteen months, forty-nine Haitians have been imprisoned by the United States government in a squalid Brooklyn jail run by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (three others in the original group of fifty-three have returned to Haiti, and a fourth was released for medical reasons). Recently, their repeated pleas for freedom were again denied.

In June, Eugene Spellman, a Federal judge in Miami, ruled in a case brought on behalf of approximately 1,900 Haitian refugees that the Federal government's detention of the boat people, on the grounds that they are "economic" rather than political refugees, flouted a practice that had been followed during the previous six Administrations. This practice was described by the Supreme Court in 1958: "Physical detention of aliens is . . . the exception, not the rule, and is employed only as to security risks or those likely to abscond." In accordance with that policy, the government was ordered to release all the Haitians still detained—except the forty-nine refugees in Brooklyn.

There is no sinister reason why the Brooklyn 49 were not included in the release order. Represented by their own lawyers, they brought a separate lawsuit challenging their detention. Reviewing the evidence, Federal District Court Judge Robert Carter concluded that the Haitians had been locked up by the I.N.S. "because they were black and/or because they were Haitians." In support of that finding, Judge Carter noted that non-Haitians who applied for political asylum in New York were routinely released, while Haitians who applied for political asylum were routinely detained. He therefore ordered the release of the fifty-three detainees who brought the suit. On appeal, however, his ruling was reversed and the case sent back for further proceedings. This put Judge Spellman in Miami in a difficult position. As a matter of judicial courtesy, he excluded from his ruling the Haitians involved in the pending New York lawsuit, and so the Brooklyn 49 were not included in the nationwide release plan devised in Miami.

Save for their separate lawsuit, there is no distinction between the Brooklyn 49 and other detained Haitians. So, while it was clear that the Miami release order did not formally apply to the Haitians in Brooklyn, many people hoped that the government would not adhere to legal technicalities in this human tragedy. That hope was dashed when the government rejected the Brooklyn 49's pleas for release.

It is difficult to characterize the government's decision as anything but punitive and vindictive. It is certainly not supported by public policy considerations. The argument that a strict detention program would deter future immigrants evaporated once the government was ordered to release the overwhelming majority of Haitians. It makes no sense to say that the government is protecting U.S. borders by holding forty-nine Haitians when nearly 2,000 others are being released. People will continue to flee the sort of repressive regime that exists in Haiti, regardless of the consequences, because they feel that what they are going to cannot be as bad as what they have left. Moreover, the government can still adopt a strict detention policy if it is prepared to pay the moral and monetary price that long-term detention entails. The release order simply requires it to follow the proper procedures if it desires a radical change in immigration policies.

The Brooklyn 49 remain in jail because a stubborn bureaucracy has refused to relent. In the words of a third Federal judge who reviewed the government's Haitian program: "INS officials have acted as haphazardly as the rolling seas that brought these boat people to this great country's shores."

STEVEN R. SHAPIRO

Steven R. Shapiro is a staff attorney with the American Civil Liberties Union.

U.N. Preview

The Secretary General's annual report on the state of the United Nations, released, as usual, two weeks before the convening of the General Assembly, made an unusual splash in the American press this year—as it was intended to. In a departure from the bland tone of previous reports, Secretary General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar frankly admitted that "the United Nations itself has been unable to play as effective and decisive a role as the Charter certainly envisaged for it."

Neither those who place their hopes in the United Nations nor its greatest detractors could disagree with this assessment. In his enumeration of the causes of the world body's ineffectiveness, the Secretary General cited the tendency among member nations to avoid using the Security Council

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to settle conflicts, their preference for closed-door consultations to council action and their flouting of the council's resolutions. These failings, he said, have prevented the United Nations from carrying out two of its most crucial responsibilities: keeping the peace and serving as a forum for negotiations. Since blame was not assigned in the report, the ambiguous hints of responsibility can, like the best Security Council resolution, be variously interpreted exactly as each U.N. member would like.

The New York Times reported the Secretary General's confession of failure on page 1, and two days later prominently quoted U.S. representative Jeane Kirkpatrick's words of praise for the report on the futility of the U.N. After more than a year and a half of her relentless criticism of the world body as an "arena of conflict extension and exacerbation," where bloc voting patterns leave "no neutral havens" and to which nations interested in serious negotiations will not resort, Kirkpatrick seemed pleased to find that finally someone agreed with her. "It is useful and important to have responsible persons being realistic about the prevailing state of affairs," she told *The Times*'s U.N. correspondent. "Nations use the Security Council to achieve goals of national foreign policy rather than conflict resolution," she charged, and then proceeded to repeat her view that the Security Council should take up the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, the Iran-Iraq war and martial law in Poland.

Many delegates hold Kirkpatrick responsible for the U.N.'s ineffectiveness. Were she better at, or enjoyed more, using the classical debating techniques that former British Ambassador Sir Anthony Parsons displayed during the debate on the Falklands/Malvinas, Kirkpatrick would have greater success in advancing U.S. foreign policy goals. The U.N. is a forum, a place for diplomatic contacts and negotiation; it is not, say, the International Court of Justice, which decides which party is right and which is wrong, which party wins and which loses. Kirkpatrick, whose chief contribution to the enunciation of American foreign policy has been ideology rather than expertise, came to the United Nations with a chip on her shoulder, convinced that there was an "automatic majority" against the United States. She has never tried to win it over with charm. When Kirkpatrick doesn't like the game, she refuses to play. Under her direction, the U.S. delegation has been responsible for hours of stalling in private Security Council consultations, most recently and demoralizingly when the slaughter in Lebanon was at its peak. On that occasion, a European delegate, whose country is one of America's closest allies, stalked out of the council chambers and remarked to waiting journalists, "There seems to be an inverse relationship between a delegation's distance from its capital and the need for consultations."

In his annual report, the Secretary General vowed to improve the fact-finding capability of his office and to find a way to take a more active role in bringing potential conflicts to the attention of the Security Council. Indeed, from ideas that he has been mulling over for the past few months, the Secretary General seems to be developing a visionary view of the Security Council's role in the future.

Regarding the Middle East, which he called "perhaps our most formidable international problem," the Secretary General said he feels that the Security Council—"the only place in the world where all of the parties concerned can sit at the same table"—could be "a most useful forum." Among Philip Habib's diplomatic successes prior to negotiating the departure of the P.L.O. fighters from West Beirut was an agreement, reached after thirty months of negotiations in Paris, on the shape of the table to be used in the Vietnam peace talks. Pérez de Cuéllar could put the horseshoe-shaped Security Council table to much quicker use.

The Secretary General has already been asked by representatives of the nonaligned countries, by the Security Council and by the General Assembly to initiate talks with the parties to the Middle East conflict in hopes of persuading them to enter into negotiations. Last April, after the nonaligned nations' request, the Secretary General suggested, at a dinner given by the East-West Institute, that the Security Council might be used for such negotiations in some extraordinary way without the normal rules of procedure having to apply (for example, the permanent members' veto).

Whether such an extraordinary use of the Security Council will ever come about remains to be seen. Some of the matters that the U.N. General Assembly will be dealing with during the upcoming session are an appearance by Yasir Arafat; a debate on Puerto Rican independence after hearings before the Committee on Decolonization (which Cuba may chair, thanks to a surprise unanimous nomination by the Latin American countries); a drive for diplomatic support, led by the ASEAN countries, featuring the appearance of the three leaders of the recently formed Kampuchean coalition government that has been endorsed by China—Prince Norodom Sihanouk, Khieu Samphan and Son Sann; a debate on the future of the Falkland Islands—or the Malvinas, depending on your sympathies.

In the Security Council, Kirkpatrick and her colleagues will grapple with the issue of Israel's withdrawal from Lebanon and its occupation of the West Bank and the Gaza strip; the border wars between Ethiopia and Somalia, Venezuela and Guyana, and Iran and Iraq. The candidacy of Nicaragua for the next vacant Latin American seat on the council, Namibian independence, Afghanistan and, of course, the Middle East are also still on the U.N. agenda.

Given the frayed nerves and the prevailing mood of cynicism at the United Nations, the question is, will the Secretary General be able to persuade the member nations to deal constructively with at least some of these highly charged issues, or will Kirkpatrick and other partisans of bilateralism and private deals succeed in limiting the United Nations to the kind of thing they think it is good at—giving smallpox shots.

MARIAN HOUK

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ARTICLES.

LITTLE WAR-BIG WAR LINK

A Nuclear Freeze Isn't Enough

MICHAEL T. KLARE

When the United Nations second special session on disarmament convened in New York in June, the possibility of nuclear war was more imminent than it had been in some time. Two nuclear powers—Israel and Britain—were fighting in Lebanon and in the Falklands, and other nations allied with the superpowers were at war elsewhere on the globe. Although none of these conflicts erupted into nuclear war, it is not difficult to imagine a similar local engagement raging out of control and becoming a nuclear conflagration. An analysis of current international trends leads one to conclude that the number of such military confrontations can only increase in the years ahead; each of them will carry a great risk of degenerating into a thermonuclear exchange.

The growing danger of nuclear war is the result of the convergence of a number of diverse factors. These include recent advances in nuclear weapons technology—particularly the introduction of counterforce weapons like the MX missile, which increase the likelihood of a first strike—and developments in the political and diplomatic arenas. Also contributing to the greater possibility of nuclear war is a technological revolution in conventional weapons that is as profound as the one in nuclear arms.

Because of recent innovations in conventional weapons design, such as more powerful explosives, "smart" bombs and precision-guided munitions (P.G.M.s) with a "kill probability" near 100 percent, there is a new generation of armaments that are far more lethal and destructive than previous models. The use of these weapons will result in death and destruction on a greater scale than has hitherto been known. The devastation that accompanied the Israeli incursion into Lebanon was a preview of what these new weapons can do. With each side inflicting grievous losses on the other, the temptation to retaliate with even more powerful weapons will be strong; inevitably, some country will resort to nuclear weapons. Given a greater proclivity by the superpowers than in the past to intervene in such conflicts, the risk of global nuclear exchanges can only increase.

There is, then, a direct link between conventional arms and interventionism on the one hand, and nuclear escalation and global catastrophe on the other. Unfortunately, the American peace movement has generally ignored this link and has tended to address the issues of interventionism and nuclear war separately. Many peace groups take as their primary goal banning the bomb; only when that is achieved, they say, should their efforts be directed toward reducing conventional forces. In their (quite understandable) desire to curb nuclear weapons, some disarmament groups have even proposed increasing conventional forces in the misguided hope that that would make the use of nuclear weapons less likely. Still other groups argue that interventionism is the overriding issue and that nuclear disarmament is secondary.

Let me demonstrate in more detail the deadly link between conventional and nuclear war.

In the first place, conventional weapons are becoming more like nuclear weapons in terms of their capacity to destroy large numbers of people. There now exist conventional weapons that are as destructive as small nuclear bombs. Cluster bombs of the type used in Lebanon scatter "bomblets" that kill or maim all exposed people over an area ranging in size from a football field to seventy-five square city blocks. A bomb of that type with the kill radius of a small nuclear weapon is now being developed for NATO forces as a result of the mounting opposition in Europe to the deployment of nuclear weapons.

Just as the designers of conventional weapons are being encouraged to think big and create weapons of greater destructiveness, the designers of nuclear weapons are being encouraged to think small in order to create "mini-nukes"—bombs with the same kill radius as large conventional bombs. The object is to develop conventional and nuclear arms that are interchangeable on the battlefield.

Once the "firebreak" between the use of conventional and nuclear weapons is eliminated, control of the latter easily passes from political leaders to military commanders in the field. Although field commanders might say they will limit themselves to mini-nukes or neutron bombs, once the nuclear barrier has been crossed, further escalation becomes more likely. And that escalation could lead to a full-scale thermonuclear exchange.

The temptation for the generals to resort to nuclear arms will be enhanced by the greater destructiveness of this new breed of conventional weapons. The use of P.G.M.s, for example, each of which is highly likely to score a direct hit, will result in horrendous casualties. In such situations, a field commander, fearing a disastrous loss of men and equipment, might feel compelled to call on his biggest conventional weapons, then on his mini-nukes and, if the enemy is still threatening, on even more powerful nuclear weapons.

As more and more countries acquire the capacity to fight high-intensity conventional wars, the number of conflicts that might escalate in this manner proliferates. At one time, large conventional armies and sophisticated conventional weaponry were the prerogatives of the superpowers and their

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closest allies. Today, however, many Third World countries have large armies and—thanks to military aid from the superpowers and a booming arms trade—large stockpiles of modern weapons. Indeed, in their hunger for profits, the major arms suppliers are selling Third World countries their most advanced and sophisticated weapons, such as the Exocet missile (which Argentina used to sink the British destroyer *Sheffield*). What this means, of course, is that future wars occurring almost anywhere in the world will be fought with the same magnitude of violence and destruction we would expect in a superpower conflict in Europe.

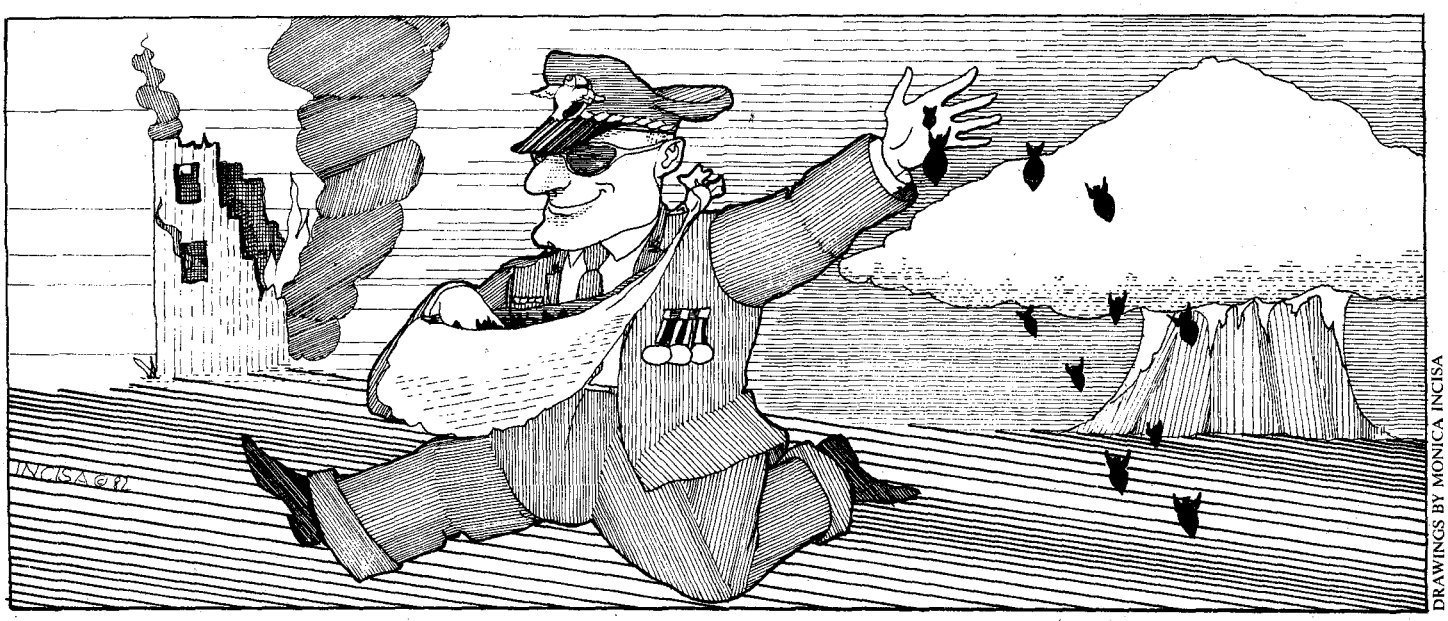
After World War II, the superpowers exercised substantial control over the military activities of their clients and allies, thereby limiting wars largely to those they themselves initiated or participated in. Today, the East-West rivalry is as intense as ever, but total superpower domination is a thing of the past. This has allowed other rivalries to flourish—North-South rivalries, intra-Third World disputes, religious conflicts like the Iran-Iraq war, territorial disputes such as the Falklands war and so forth. If present trends continue, many of these rivalries will explode into major regional conflagrations. And because the flow of sophisticated arms to the Third World is likely to accelerate in the years ahead, such wars will be fought at ever-increasing levels of violence and destructiveness.

Moreover, the danger of superpower intervention in such conflicts is growing. Despite assurances of restraint, the United States and Russia are beefing up their interventionary forces and are adopting strategic doctrines that make intervention acceptable. Since the Vietnam War, the U.S. government—under pressure from a war-weary populace—has avoided direct involvement in Third World conflicts, the so-called Vietnam syndrome. Under the "Nixon doctrine," U.S. leaders turned to "surrogate gendarmes" like Iran and Indonesia to protect American interests in the Third World. With the fall of the Shah, however, Washington lost faith in surrogates and began planning for a renewed U.S. interventionary posture abroad. The Iranian hostage crisis and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan won popular support for this stance, of course, but the decisions to establish the Rapid Deployment Force (R.D.F.) and to deploy a naval fleet in the Indian Ocean were made before those two crises occurred. Since Reagan became President, he has accelerated the expansion of the R.D.F. and other interventionary forces, and has explicitly threatened to use those capabilities against various foes, including Cuba, Libya and the guerrillas in El Salvador. Indeed, the buildup in interventionary forces—especially the R.D.F. and the naval forces—is the principal impetus behind Reagan's massive military budget.

The Soviet Union has also demonstrated a greater propensity for intervention abroad. It has provided logistical support for major military operations by its allies in Angola, Southeast Asia and Ethiopia, and it has intervened directly in Afghanistan. And while Moscow has so far avoided military involvement in the Polish crackdown, future Soviet action in Poland or in other Eastern European countries is entirely possible. Obviously there is a serious risk of U.S. or Soviet military involvement in some future conflict—or even joint intervention.

In sum, the risk of nuclear war is greater than it has been at any time in history. The dangers I have cited are real, but my primary purpose in discussing them is not to alarm but to demonstrate the absolute necessity of linking nuclear disarmament to anti-interventionism and to controls on the international arms trade. Any approach that fails to make this connection does not address the most dangerous element in the arms race today: the convergence between interventionary impulses and the revolution in conventional arms and the possibility of nuclear war.

The link between the anti-interventionist and nuclear disarmament campaigns is not only necessary from the standpoint of strategy; it also presents an unprecedented opportunity to the peace movement. First of all, it provides a basis for cooperation between the antinuclear movement and the various anti-interventionary movements (such as the movement against U.S. intervention in El Salvador). Even more important, it provides a common cause with those



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Americans—the poor, the elderly, the minorities, the handicapped—who are suffering as a result of Reagan's campaign to shift Federal resources from the social sector to the military budget. (Because the bulk of Reagan's defense buildup involves conventional and interventionary forces—as much as 85 percent—only a cutback in such programs will result in significant reductions in military spending.) Finally, it provides the basis for combining the opposition to U.S. intervention in the Third World with the burgeoning antinuclear movement.

For all these reasons, but especially because of the terrifying trends I have delineated, it is absolutely essential that the peace movement view anti-interventionism and nuclear disarmament as related aspects of a unified struggle. The only way we can prevent an interventionary war fought with conventional weapons from escalating into a nuclear war is by preventing the interventionary war in the first place. □

I.R.A.S AND SOCIAL SECURITY

Creating a Two-Class System For Retirees

JOHN AARON BERNSTEIN

Ever since President Reagan relaxed the eligibility requirements for Individual Retirement Accounts last year, making them available to people covered by private pension plans, the banks have been saturating the media with come-on advertisements. "Our I.R.A. plan is so good it used to be illegal," one of them gloats. I.R.A.s have proved popular, particularly among the wealthy, because of the tax advantages they offer. According to a recent study by the Life Insurance Marketing and Research Association (LIMRA), 14 million I.R.A.s were opened during the first three months of 1982. LIMRA estimates that, by the end of the year, more than $30 billion will be put into these accounts. This will cost the government $10 billion in lost taxes. At least half of this $10 billion will be deducted from the taxes of the wealthiest 20 percent of the working population—the people making more than $30,000 a year.

I.R.A.s were first proposed by President Nixon in 1971. Ostensibly, the intention was to give people whose employers did not have pension plans, or workers who did not stay at one job long enough to be eligible for one, a tax incentive to save. Legislation establishing an I.R.A. limited to employees not covered by a company plan was passed in 1974, but President Carter opposed the idea of broadening eligibility on the grounds that only the well-to-do could take advantage of the opportunity. Reagan, who seems to believe in giving to the rich and taking from the poor, expanded I.R.A. eligibility in 1981. Now any person up to the age of 70½ may put up to $2,000 of earned income a year into an I.R.A. account. Both the principal and the interest are deductible from Federal income tax. If the money is withdrawn before the person reaches the age of 59½, he or she must pay income tax on it, in addition to a 10 percent penalty fee.

Coming in the wake of the Administration's proposals to lower Social Security benefits, the idea of Individual Retirement Accounts is particularly unjust [see William Tabb, "Social Security Goes Private," *The Nation*, January 30]. In effect, Reagan is giving away tax-free dollars to cushion the retirements of those who least need the money, while trying to take money away from people who have already paid into the system and who are most in need of a Social Security nest egg.

Although I.R.A.s are theoretically open to everyone, only those who have money to put aside each year—money they won't need until they are 59½—can afford them. Most wage earners, particularly the 80 percent who make under $30,000 a year, do not have the surplus cash, and they are paying hundreds of dollars each year into Social Security. Members of the over-$30,000 crowd, however, usually have the extra money. If they put it into I.R.A.s, they get a tax break that amounts to a kind of Federal matching grant.

When Reagan's tax bill expanding eligibility for I.R.A.s was passed last year, the prevailing estimate in Congress was that $5 billion would be put into the accounts in 1982, and the total revenue loss was set at $1.3 billion. Obviously, if LIMRA's $30 billion figure is correct, Congress misjudged badly. Even if the figure is too high by half, I.R.A.s will cost $5 billion in lost revenues.

The LIMRA study found that the people most likely to open I.R.A.s are over 45 and earn more than $30,000 a year. Many of the people in this age and income bracket told LIMRA that they planned to take advantage of I.R.A.s in the near future, if they had not done so already. This suggests that the total number of accounts in this group may increase substantially in coming years. Consequently, the $10 billion in taxes lost is only a beginning.

While the top 20 percent draw tax subsidies on their I.R.A.s, those who can't afford them are fighting a rear-guard battle just to preserve the Social Security benefits the government promised them when they began contributing. Under political pressure, Reagan withdrew his call for reduced Social Security payments, but the idea has not gone away. Nor has the problem. The Congressional Budget Office estimated this year that the Social Security fund will be short a total of $40 billion by the end of 1985. To avoid further political heat, Reagan appointed a National Commission on Social Security Reform, which will come up with recommendations by December for solving the problem. One thing the commission should consider seriously is setting strict eligibility requirements to limit the number of new I.R.A.s.

That advertisement I quoted earlier was right: the ex-

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panded I.R.A.s *are* so good that they used to be illegal. And maybe they should be made so again. It is true that they help some people who are not covered by employer pension plans, and those people should be helped. But they are far more likely to help people who do not need it. And if the LIMRA survey is right, that $10 billion in lost revenue this year could mount to at least $40 billion over the next four years, which happens to be just the amount that the Social Security fund will be short.

Of course, there is no direct link between revenue lost through I.R.A.s and taxes that go to Social Security. Contributions to Social Security are compulsory, while contributions to I.R.A.s are voluntary. But taxes lost through I.R.A. deductions unfairly benefit the affluent. Besides, I.R.A.s send the wrong message—that they are a *substitute* for Social Security. This belief could encourage employers to bail out of the flagging Social Security system, as the State of Alaska did two years ago and as almost 1,000 nonprofit employers have asked to do since then.

If the Reagan Administration gets its way, the United States will eventually have two publicly funded pension systems. One, used mainly by the well-to-do, will be funded out of general tax revenues through deductions. The other, for the less affluent, will be funded, with increasing difficulty, by individual contributors. If Reagan is willing to let billions of our tax dollars subsidize retirement, why not put the money where it is most needed, and where it will be most equitably used—into Social Security. □

The Schools

(*Continued From Front Cover*)

Everyone agrees that America faces a serious and deepening crisis in public education. Public school enrollment has fallen from 45.9 million students in 1970 to 40.2 million last year, a decrease of 12 percent, while enrollment in nonsectarian private schools has increased by 60 percent. There are now 1.8 million students enrolled in these private schools. The drop in the birth rate accounts for much of the decline in public school enrollment, but clearly some of it is attributable to a rise in private school enrollment.

Major testing services like the Educational Testing Service and the National Assessment of Educational Progress have noted a steady decline in reading, math, social science, natural science and writing scores among public school students. In late 1981, *The New York Times* reported that a Federally funded study had found a "drastic decline" over the last decade in the ability of students aged 13 through 17 to analyze critically what they read. Several publishers of high school textbooks say that in recent years they have simplified their books to a sixth-grade reading level. As if this bad news weren't enough, popular approval of public education is definitely on the wane. Annual Gallup Polls show a steady decline in the percentage of parents who believe the public schools are doing a good job. Between 1974 and 1979, for example, the approval rating plummeted from 48 percent to 34 percent.

In 1979, the National Education Association (N.E.A.), the powerful teachers' organization and lobbying group, found that 120,000 physical attacks on teachers by students had been reported in that one year. Vandalism and crime in the schools cost the public an estimated $600 million annually. "White flight" from inner-city neighborhoods as a result of integration and busing has helped create racially imbalanced schools—only five of the nation's twenty biggest urban school systems have more white students than minority students. The poorest children remain in the inner-city schools, and their needs are not being served. Judging by a National Assessment of Educational Progress survey, an estimated 21 percent of all 17-year-olds in "disadvantaged urban areas" may be considered functional illiterates.

A number of recent studies, such as the one conducted by James Coleman, Thomas Hoffer and Sally Kilgore of the University of Chicago, show that children from low-income inner-city areas learn more in parochial schools. Catholic schools in California have a higher proportion of minority students than do the public schools, one study found. And the overwhelming majority of children who have attended both public and parochial schools express a preference for the latter. Their parents express the same preference.

Who, or what, is to blame for the current crisis of confidence in public education? There is a grab bag of easy answers: white racism; inner-city poverty; bloated school bureaucracies; overpaid (or underpaid), overworked (or coddled) teachers; declining budgets (or budgets that are too wasteful); lack of discipline and interest among students; failure of teachers to create a lively atmosphere that is conducive to learning—the list goes on. School officials complain that parents' expectations are unreasonably high, making disappointment inevitable. Parents, they argue, want schools to serve as day-care centers, to develop creativity, to provide cultural enrichment, to purvey sophisticated technological know-how, to offer personal counseling (and, if necessary, psychotherapy) and to reinforce parental authority. School officials, whose resources are stretched to the limit, also have to deal with parents who, at the first sign that their child is a "disciplinary problem," cry, "Take off the kid gloves. Whip him (or her) into shape."

Other parents are unhappy when their children's schools offer gimmicks and high-priced hardware and software as substitutes for teaching and learning. They are suspicious of the apparently frivolous "experimentation" with classroom arrangements and pedagogical methods that goes on in many public schools. They decry the fact that each child is not regarded as an individual and that all children tend to be measured against some abstract idea of "the average child." The real mission of the schools, these parents insist, has been blown away by the hot air of educational psychology.

The annual Gallup Polls on the public's attitudes to-

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ward public education give us a good notion of parents' main gripes. According to the latest one, the biggest problems confronting the schools, the respondents say, are lack of discipline, lack of proper financial support, use of drugs, poor curriculum, lax scholastic standards and poor teaching. In their responses to past surveys, students have also overwhelmingly stressed the need for more classroom discipline.

Faced with a system they perceive to be unresponsive to their children's particular needs and troubled by courses that ignore the values they hold, parents have reacted in a number of ways. I have already mentioned the exodus to private schools, but parental discontent frequently takes a more politically volatile form, such as taxpayer revolts against increases in school budgets. In part such rebellions are simply one aspect of a broader middle-class financial retrenchment. But they are also an understandable response to the discriminatory manner in which public education is often financed. In many states property taxes are the sole source of funding for schools, a system which inevitably penalizes cities, the less wealthy suburbs and rural areas, where property values are lower.

In response to this widespread defection from, and disillusionment with, public education, the N.E.A. has warned against taxpayer revolts, opposed tax credits for parents who send their children to private schools and predicted that all will be lost if the tide isn't turned back soon. A common assertion made by N.E.A. representatives and by contributors to the association's journal is that much of the animosity toward public schools has been stirred up by right-wing evangelical groups that threaten not only free education but our democratic way of life. For example, University of Wisconsin professor of education J. Charles Park, in an address before an N.E.A. conference, described the "staunchest proponents of the current attacks on the public schools" as "supporters of the new evangelical far right."

Park sounded a similar alarm in a May 1980 article in the *Phi Delta Kappan*, the journal of the national honorary society, in which he inveighed against a "confused and uncertain citizenry" and reported increased threats to censor textbooks and curriculum and to stifle teachers. There is just enough truth in these assertions to make them sound plausible. But they are based on a self-serving analysis, and a deeply flawed one at that.

Certainly, disgruntled parents, emboldened by what they see as a rightward swing in the national mood, are, according to a story in *The New York Times* of May 17, 1981, "demanding that teachers and administrators cleanse their local schools of materials and teaching methods they consider anti-family, anti-American and anti-God." Some of the conservatives' criticisms, particularly their concern about education that neglects values, should be taken seriously, but their attempts to censor books, purge teachers and control the curriculum through threats and harassment must be loudly condemned. Still, it is too easy to see the situation as a simple conflict between right-wing villains and noble defenders of academic freedom. Charles Silberman, no right-wing evangelical, described the public schools in these terms in his book *Crisis in the Classroom*: "Adults . . . fail to appreciate what grim, joyless places most American schools are, how oppressive and petty are the rules by which they are governed, how intellectually sterile and barren the atmosphere, what an appalling lack of civility obtains on the part of teachers and principals, what contempt they unconsciously display for children as children."

It is possible to make the case that over the past three decades American public schools *have* failed in important ways that have little to do with declining SAT scores or increasing vandalism or anything else that can be seen or quantified. There is a common theme that has been sounded by right-wing and left-wing critics alike—the concern that public schools no longer teach values—both individual moral beliefs and shared principles of civility and democratic citizenship. And it can be argued that the parental revolt against public education has tapped this more elusive failure.

The response of educators to this concern has been twofold. On the one hand, they insist they are in the business of educating, not inculcating, and that in a pluralistic society it is impossible to teach a single set of social or moral values. As proof of the validity of this position above the fray, many educators take refuge in the notion of "value neutrality," or "liberal tolerance." "All we do," in Park's words, is "provide access to information." Do educators really

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believe this? "Access to information" is pretty thin gruel for curious 7-year-olds preoccupied with questions about life and death, and niggardly nourishment for 16-year-olds searching for a coherent sense of identity.

A second response, one that is at odds with the first in that it constitutes an implicit admission of the problem, is to offer "values clarification" courses. In these courses, no particular values are advocated and all viewpoints are treated alike. This value-free teaching of values is a rather self-defeating enterprise, which trivializes values by reducing them to personal preferences. These courses generally stress the pop-psychology notion that untrammeled self-expression and limitless self-actualization are the highest good. Such a focus precludes debate about *social* values that can be brought to bear on the political dilemmas of our day. Values clarification courses end up enshrining a mindless "tolerance" that promotes a leveling of all points of view and a noncommittal acquiescence to all opinions—save, of course, those of reactionaries.

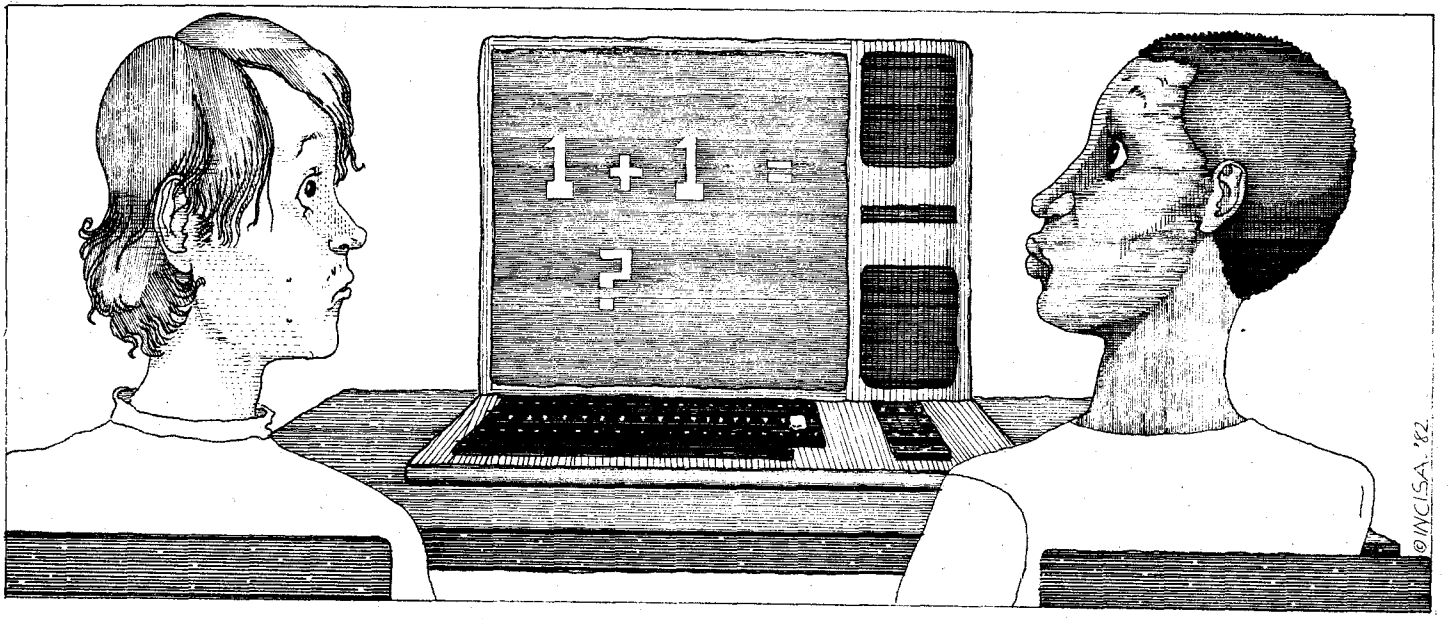
Radical critics of public education have long argued that the public school system in America was never a "crucible for democracy," never the spoon that stirred the melting pot. Instead, they say, schools served the interests of an expansionist industrial capitalism that depended on the availability of a segmented, minimally educated labor force. Contrary to the liberal ideology that dominated American society ("false values," in the radicals' lexicon), children were slotted into their "appropriate" stations in life according to their class and ethnic background and the needs of industry in their communities.

Although this indictment contains much truth, we should not overlook the many poor children with public school diplomas who were awarded scholarships to the country's finest universities. In other words, the democratic ideal was just true enough to retain credibility; public education added sufficient flexibility to the system to sustain the widespread belief that schools were meritocracies that promoted good citizenship. Indeed, much of the current dismay makes sense only if we recognize that there was once some validity to the educators' claims that schools provided equal educational opportunity and furthered democracy. When these hopes were shattered, disillusionment set in. As American society has become more rigid and social fragmentation has deepened, the schools' function as a catalyst for change and a bulwark of democratic values has largely collapsed.

From the earliest days of the Republic, education was intended to prepare the male child for responsible democratic citizenship and a moral life. But it was not until 1899, with the publication of John Dewey's classic, *The School and Society*, that education for citizenship was interpreted as having to do with preparing young people for the world of work. Dewey argued that children could be trained for participation in democratic society through the creation of "an embryonic community life, active with types of occupations that reflect the life of the larger society," in the public schools. It was his fervent hope that whether a child ended up becoming a "manager" or a "subordinate," he or she would come to see the benefits of social harmony and the importance of each individual also functioning as a member of "the larger society."

Dewey aimed to promote social reform through his pedagogical philosophy and methods. But the administrators and policy makers who have been running the colleges of education and the schools since Dewey's time have distorted his ideas and made education a force for maintaining the status quo through "scientific" social engineering and a variety of manipulative techniques. Questions of teaching methods, curriculum and the like, which, as Lasch argues, "*properly* belong to the sphere of politics and public debate," have instead been addressed by the growing army of educational "experts," who, conveniently enough, are guided by a theory that celebrates their own expertise.

During this reign of the experts, the schools were depoliticized. Decisions as to the purposes and methods of public education were made behind a bureaucratic *cordon sanitaire*, protected from popular control. The horror many educators express at the audacity of parents organizing to



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pressure school systems to allow them to take part in debates on teaching policy, methods and content reveals their conviction that such matters are not proper subjects for open debate.

Once they were depoliticized, the schools began emphasizing the importance of "applied knowledge," particularly for those students who were not college bound. Not only did this encourage anti-intellectualism among a large part of the student population; it also made it unlikely that serious challenges to educational policy would be made by those people most severely cheated by the schools. By and large, it was poor and minority children who were tracked into "relevant" vocational courses and thus deprived of knowledge that might have helped them question and criticize the way schools were run.

In the 1950s, teacher training began to emphasize, almost obsessively, classroom technique. The so-called behaviorist revolution compounded the problem by stressing stimulus and response, "reinforcement schedules" and the reward and punishment system perfected by B. F. Skinner's experiments with his unfortunate rats. Behaviorism trivialized teaching by reducing it to a set of positive rewards and negative reinforcements, and viewed the child merely as someone who reacts to pain and pleasure and who is either adjusted or maladjusted.

Needless to say, parents were not asked whether they wanted their children to be positively reinforced or aversely conditioned. Many liberal parents went along with these methods because they believed them to be the latest in progressive pedagogy. Some parents suspected something was awry, but there was no forum in which they could express their misgivings because the schools had become increasingly distanced from the communities they served and more subservient to the cult of expertise. Vital matters of educational policy were turned into problems for "scientific" management. In following this course, the schools were adopting the antidemocratic ideas that were in the ascendant in American life, and which called for a technocratic politics controlled by social engineers. True, many schools were forced to make reforms in response to the political demands of blacks, women and others in the late 1960s and early 1970s, but a retreat from those reforms (whose fruits were admittedly mixed) is now under way. And the larger question—whose schools are these anyway?—remains unanswered.

Those who cling to the notion that the schools must foster the values of a civic political morality should seek an answer. If the public schools are to be saved, if they are to become havens for the human heart and mind, places where each child's uniqueness is respected and where all children learn to think, to play and to share, the following steps should be taken:

(*1*) The schools must be decentralized and the trend toward consolidation of school systems, which gave birth to junior high and high schools jammed with as many as 2,000 young people, must be reversed. Schools that large have lost the human scale that is most conducive to educating the young. The consolidation of school systems spawned top-

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heavy bureaucracies and justified the proliferation of a bewildering array of functionaries whose main task, whatever their job title, is to maintain order, to make the machine run smoothly (like the "dean of discipline" in Frederick Wiseman's documentary *High School*). Decentralization would allow parents to become more involved in the education of their children and would allow teachers to be more responsive to individual students.

(*2*) Schools of education must be phased out. On the whole, such schools are intellectual wastelands. In order to prepare their students to meet state accreditation requirements, these schools offer courses of study that are high in "method" and low in content. Consequently, they are systematically avoided by most bright students, who find the courses tedious and unsatisfying. Why do we need schools of education? Why are accreditation requirements and procedures so rigid? Would not students be better served by teachers who are knowledgeable and enthusiastic about their subjects? The mechanics of classroom instruction can be picked up by observing experienced teachers at work. Courses in classroom dynamics and teaching methods are not only a waste of time; they have become a substitute for substance. Students don't need "facilitators," group dynamics experts, amateur therapists or grown-up pals. They need teachers who know and love what they teach. Given the overwhelming dissatisfaction on the part of both parents and students with the overall quality of teaching, the conclusion that educators ought to be better educated is inescapable.

(*3*) Parents and students must be involved in vital educational decisions, including decisions about the curriculum. Closing off all debate on issues that affect the daily lives and futures of students and their families is antidemocratic and unacceptable. Although greater participation by parents could lead to hostile confrontations between them and teachers, this is a risk worth taking.

(*4*) Public education must be financed more equitably. That means property taxes cannot be the primary source of funds and state education agencies must not capitulate to the greater political clout of wealthy districts when general tax revenues are allocated. In view of the decline in Federal funding for education, the prospects for greater equality in per-pupil expenditures are dim, and the disparities between schools in middle-class and poor districts will grow. Poor people must be assured that their children will receive an education that is on a par with that received by the more privileged; otherwise, equal education for all will remain a hollow slogan.

These measures are not utopian. They are well within our reach as a society. The present crisis in education reflects parents' long-smoldering resentment at being excluded from having a say in the education of their children, who are often exposed to policies and values at odds with their parents' own beliefs. If all children received a minimally decent education, the battle over values would no longer pit low-income people against liberal middle-class people who don't give a hoot about the former's communities and their way of life.

In the end, political struggle is what the education debate is all about. In order to have a viable public school system in this country, concerned citizens, parents, teachers and critics must be prepared to clash with the vested interests of the education bureaucracies. At a time when the public schools are under assault from the radical right, this will not be easy. But if action is not taken, and soon, the latest and most serious crisis in American public education may well destroy it. □

EDUCATION FUNDING CUTS

The Chipping-Off-The-Old-Block-Grant Strategy

NORM FRUCHTER

The Reagan Administration's attack on Federal support for public education follows a four-pronged strategy: reduce funding; weaken or eliminate Federally sponsored programs by consolidating them into block grants; dismantle the Department of Education; legislate tuition tax credits for parents whose children attend private schools (and perhaps, down the road, support a system of state and even Federal tuition vouchers).

The Administration has already succeeded in severely cutting Federal funding of education. Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, which aids educationally disadvantaged children, represents by far the largest chunk of Federal education expenditures, and most urban school districts rely on this money to support their reading and math programs. Title I funding has been cut by approximately 12.5 percent since 1980, and the Administration has asked for an additional 32 percent cut in the budget for fiscal 1983. Other programs that receive substantial Federal funds—vocational, bilingual and special education—have suffered similarly drastic reductions.

Last year, Congress passed the Education Consolidation and Improvement Act of 1981 (E.C.I.A.). Chapter I of this act incorporates Title I of the 1965 act, while Chapter II combines funding for a range of categorical grant programs into one block grant. The money is allocated to each state according to a formula based on school-age population, and state education agencies distribute the money to each district, which may use it to pay for any of twenty-eight approved programs, such as implementing desegregation, improving libraries, establishing teacher centers, improving basic skills and initiating career education or classes for gifted students. Under the 1965 act, which the

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E.C.I.A. superseded, funding for those categories was awarded directly to local districts on a competitive basis. Now, states are free to develop their own distribution formulas, though they must give priority to districts with the largest number of students from low-income families.

Many of the categorical grants combined in Chapter II of the E.C.I.A. served the needs of urban schools and poor and minority children. Since the grants were competitive, urban districts won a significant share of the funding. But under the new distribution formula, many urban districts will lose sorely needed funding. New York City, for example, estimates that it will lose 56 percent of the funding it has received under categorical grant programs. Buffalo, which has received considerable funds for school desegregation, will lose $6.8 million, or 92 percent of its previous funding.

Block grants will have other damaging long-term consequences. By cutting off the local districts' direct access to Federal funds, block grants put decisions on meeting the needs of urban schools into the hands of state legislatures, which are often dominated by suburban and rural interests. Moreover, several categorical grant programs developed national constituencies committed to their continuation and growth. But those constituencies are fragmented when categorical programs are subsumed into a block grant. Support for maintaining block grants is difficult to mobilize, since the money is awarded under a formula rather than to specific categories of recipients. Block grant funding can thus be whittled away by Congress without arousing opposition from groups with a vested interest in a certain program. The use of block grants in housing, community development and health care by Republican administrations in the past has demonstrated the effectiveness of this strategy—first consolidation, then gradual elimination of the program.

The Reagan Administration is currently using the block grant strategy to gut vocational and special education programs. In addition to cuts in funding, the vocational education block grant would reduce requirements for administration, evaluation, accountability and public participation. Special education would lose many of its mandated provisions, which have been established through years of court battles.

Already-reduced allocations under Chapter I are also under assault. The Administration's proposal, made earlier this year, to relax regulations governing the program would, in effect, allow local districts to use these allocations as general-purpose funds instead of primarily for educationally disadvantaged students.

Challenged by this concerted attack, educators, civil rights groups, child advocacy organizations and parent associations formed a national alliance. So far, they have been partially successful. Although, under E.C.I.A., Title I's funding was severely reduced and its provisions weakened, the Administration's initial attempt to consolidate it into a block grant in 1981 was defeated. Extensive lobbying by the coalition has marshaled Congressional support to save the program originally known as Title I.

Many leftists are opposed to saving Title I and other Great Society compensatory education programs, arguing that their underlying philosophy blames the victims rather than the system itself for students' poor performance. Critics say programs funded by Title I are often poorly meshed with regular instruction. Teachers and classroom aides paid with Title I funds are generally black or Hispanic, which has given rise to charges that a patronage system for minority groups has been created. And some programs under this title have been attacked as attempts to co-opt minority demands for better education.

The fact remains that Title I is the only source of substantial discretionary funding that is available to financially strapped urban schools. And studies have shown that Title I programs are effective. The latest National Assessment of Educational Progress survey, for example, found clear gains in reading and math ability among minority students, and the improvement must be attributed to Title I programs. Many districts have used Federal funds, supplemented by local tax revenues, to reduce class size or to provide district-wide remedial programs. A Rand Corporation national evaluation of Title I indicated that some of the most innovative and effective skills-improvement programs have been developed by local Title I programs.

Finally, Title I guarantees Federal responsibility for the education of poor and minority students. The civil rights movement fought for Federal intervention and support for education because the states were often indifferent to the needs of disadvantaged children. The Reagan Administration's conviction that "education is primarily a state, local and citizen responsibility" means that poor and minority children will be deprived of Federal support. For far too many children, Title I provides too little too late. But allowing it to be destroyed would deny Federal aid to all the children it has helped, and can continue to help, and return us to undiluted state and district sovereignty over the education of disadvantaged children. □

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EXCHANGE.

(*Continued From Page 258*)

to substantiate his assertions and avoids importing his own ideology and prejudices into his analysis. Judging from his article, I suspect that Donner would not last long in any decent graduate school.

The incoherence of Donner's mind is evident in his main assault on my remarks in Boston. He begins this part of his article with several vague and unexplained hit-and-run assertions: my "systematic rejection of constitutional objections to intrusive surveillance practices," my "unsupported argument that the executive branch has elastic, inherent powers in the domestic security realm," my "unjustified complaint about the impact of the Levi guidelines on the F.B.I.'s intelligence caseload," etc. It is difficult to guess what Donner is talking about, since he does not bother to quote my exact statements about these matters. As far as I can tell, the first assertion refers to my citation of several recent court cases that uphold the propriety of domestic security investigations. The second perhaps refers to my statement that one authority for domestic security investigations by the F.B.I. that has been cited in the past, and with which I agree, is the requirement of the U.S. Constitution (Article II, section 3) that the President take care that the laws be faithfully executed and (Article IV, section 4) that the Federal government protect the states from domestic violence. These are not "elastic" powers, and my claim is not "unsupported." My "unjustified complaint" about the effect of the Levi guidelines refers, I suppose, to the statistics I cited in my remarks in Boston that in 1974 (before the guidelines were issued), the F.B.I. had 157 organizations under investigation, whereas in 1978 there were only fifteen organizations and forty-two individuals under investigation. Donner, in other words, is wrong on all three charges, although the reader has no way of knowing what I actually said. If his charges refer to other statements that I made, he should have specified them.

Donner's purpose, of course, was not to refute what I said but simply to get the reader in the mood for the main assault, a painstaking but entirely erroneous criticism of my remarks in Boston. Essentially, Donner's criticism boils down to three charges:

(*1*) *Terrorism is not now a serious threat in the United States; therefore, we do not need to take precautionary or preventive measures against it.* I will say no more about this argument than to point out that it makes as much sense, and is as illogical, as the argument that I should not carry health insurance because I have never been seriously ill. I will not try to prove that terrorism is a serious problem in the United States today. I will rest content with what I hope is the incontestable statement that since the mid-1960s terrorism has been a worldwide problem, that the United States, and its citizens and institutions abroad, have been attacked and threatened by terrorists outside the country as well as inside and that the terrorist threat continues to concern all civilized nations. Global terrorism has important and long-term sociological and ideological causes as well as a significant conspiratorial dimension, and it is only common sense to believe that the United States is a logical target of some terrorist groups. Terrorism in the United States is not a particularly important problem *right now*, but our vulnerability to terrorism is a *very* important problem *today*. Hopefully, the global wave of violence is on the decline, but as long as it exists, the leaders and the citizens of the United States have cause to take adequate security measures against it.

(*2*) *Investigation* (or "monitoring," "surveillance," "penetration" or "infiltration"—Donner uses these undefined terms interchangeably, although they generally have different meanings) *of terrorist or terrorist support groups is unconstitutional and a threat to democratic freedoms.* Donner repeats this point several times, yet at no time does he cite a single provision of the Constitution, a single court decision or a single statute to support his assertion that domestic security investigations are beyond the pale of the Constitution. There are indeed legal restrictions on the methods of intelligence collection in the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of 1978, the *Keith* decision of 1972 and other laws and court decisions. The Freedom of Information and Privacy Acts have also had indirect restrictive effects on the conduct of domestic security investigations, but there is no constitutional or legal bar to such investigations or to the authority of the F.B.I. or other law enforcement agencies to conduct them. In my remarks in Boston, as I stated above, I cited several court cases to support this statement; Donner either missed this part of the speech or deliberately chose to ignore it.

Moreover, there is no reason to believe that duly authorized and properly conducted domestic security investigations threaten a free society. The F.B.I. was most active in this area between the Administrations of Franklin Roosevelt and Lyndon Johnson—perhaps the most liberal stretch of American history and the era in which democracy and civil liberties were most widely extended. Intensive domestic security investigations did not, in other words, retard political freedom but rather accompanied its expansion and were often authorized by those in government most responsible for that expansion.

It is important to understand that mere investigation, no matter at what level, of a group or individual for domestic security purposes does not mean that the subject of investigation is being prosecuted, punished, disrupted, intimidated, threatened or interfered with. A group or individual may advocate the most extreme violence, all sorts of nonsensical and dangerous ideas and the most oppressive or anarchic forms of government. Authorizing investigation of such advocacy merely means that the government (specifically, the F.B.I.) is allowed to know about the groups or individuals, their associates and those influenced by them and how seriously they intend their rhetoric. The justification for such investigations (which may mean merely collecting and reading the literature of these groups) is simply that some extremists are serious when they call for violence and do have the capability to carry out their threats. By knowing about such groups in advance, the authorities are aided in preventing violence. The negative is also useful: if a group is not serious in its advocacy of violence or do not have the ability to carry it out, the authorities need to know this in order to redirect their resources more effectively. There has been substantial testimony to this effect before the Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism, as well as before other committees in previous Congresses, but Donner either is ignorant of this evidence or chooses to disregard it.

This brings us to Donner's third charge.

(*3*) *Investigation of terrorists and their support apparatuses is not useful for the prevention of terrorist violence.* In arguing for the contrary of this proposition, I cited several instances from recent history in which the absence or withdrawal of proactive, or preventive, investigation was followed by the perpetration of violence by the group from which investigation had been withdrawn or was lacking.

It is impossible to prove a negative, so no one can say with absolute certainty that investigation would have prevented the violence. Yet, given the circumstances, it is only common sense to assume that at least some of it would have been prevented. This is not merely my subjective guess. It is based on discussions with professional intelligence and law enforcement officers, some of whom were directly involved with the incidents I described or with similar ones. Every intelligence officer or investigator with whom I have talked and who was involved in counterterrorist work prior to the issuance of the Levi guidelines has described to me cases in which proactive investigation prevented violence and saved lives—the kind of investigation that is not allowed or is minimized under the guidelines in their present form.

Donner is at great pains to demonstrate that every one of the instances I discussed is invalid. It is in this section of his article that the profundity of his ignorance, his inability to think clearly and indeed his artful and deceptive style become most evident. I will not try to reply to every one of his embarrassing bloopers here, since it would require an almost line-by-line analysis. Instead I will

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dwell on the most laughable of his errors in order to display his incompetence to write on this subject.

(*1*) *The Brink's Robbery*: One of the suspects arrested fleeing from the scene of the armed robbery and triple murder in Nyack, New York, last October was a member of a group known as the May 19th Communist Organization (M.C.O.), and a vehicle used in the escape attempt was traced to another member of the same group. Judge William Webster, director of the F.B.I., has confirmed in public testimony that the Bureau did not have the M.C.O. under investigation prior to the Brink's robbery, although the group is clearly linked to the Weather Underground Organization support group, the Prairie Fire Organizing Committee, and has published manifestoes advocating terrorism and armed robbery ("expropriations"). My point was that police or F.B.I. informants in the M.C.O. could have learned of the impending Brink's robbery, previous robberies allegedly committed by the same parties or the whereabouts of Weather Underground fugitives, since the M.C.O. has been supportive of their activities and apparently has had contacts with them. Perhaps informants could not have learned of these things, but without informants, the authorities must rely on luck and the weaknesses of the terrorist groups themselves in their efforts to counter them.

Webster has stated that the Levi guidelines did not prevent the M.C.O. from being investigated. I must disagree with him. If he is correct, why was it not being investigated? Since the guidelines do not permit the use of informants, mail covers or electronic surveillance unless there is reason to believe a group or individual is or soon will be engaged in violence and the violation of Federal law for certain purposes, and since there was no reason to believe this of the M.C.O. prior to the Brink's robbery (other than its rhetoric), I do not see how the guidelines could have permitted the investigation of the May 19th Communist Organization.

Donner's response to this example is the following: "The fact is that two of the May 19 Organization's units, the Weather Underground and the Black Liberation Army, and several individual members as well were under intensive surveillance. Indeed, a number of the participants in the crime were fugitives and therefore targets of serious tracking efforts." First, it is not true that the Weather Underground and the B.L.A. were under active investigation (nor is it true that they are "units" of the M.C.O.). The F.B.I. closed its investigations of both groups in the late 1970s, and in December 1981, Webster stated in a press conference that the Weather Underground was no longer a functioning organization.

Second, Donner, in his whole discussion of the nature and purpose of investigations, reveals a woeful ignorance of both the nature of modern terrorism and the nature of counterterrorist intelligence. In his discussion of the F.A.L.N., he states, correctly: "The experience of law-enforcement agencies is that most terrorist groups are virtually impenetrable by informants or by wiretaps and other techniques because security precautions are second nature to them." Precisely so. The "hit teams" or "action cadres" of a terrorist group—which actually perpetrate the violence—are generally underground or completely anonymous. In order to function, however, they must have contacts with or support from an aboveground apparatus (the "support group"), which also generally tries to publicize and legitimize the terrorists' "propaganda of the deed." The most accessible target of counterterrorist intelligence, therefore, is the aboveground support structure, not the underground hit team, and through investigation of the support structure and surveillance of the contacts between it and the underground, the authorities may be led to the apprehension of the actual terrorists.

Moreover, because the support groups themselves seldom commit violence or illegal acts, they are generally not subject to investigation (at least intensive or long-term investigation) under the Levi guidelines. But because they advocate violence through their propaganda, revision of the guidelines to allow investigation of advocacy of violence would enable the F.B.I. to investigate the support groups. In my remarks in Boston, I explained this problem and its solution very carefully, and I quoted Gen. Schlomo Gazit, the former director of Israeli military intelligence, and several other authorities to support my case. Donner was physically present during the whole of my remarks, but apparently he was nodding off. He completely missed the point I was making: investigation of the underground component of a terrorist group is often not very useful, since its whereabouts are unknown and its structure is difficult to penetrate; the proper and more accessible target of surveillance is the more public but less violent support structure. This is one reason why F.B.I. surveillance and investigation of the F.A.L.N., the Weather Underground, the B.L.A. and other underground terrorist groups have often not been very productive. The guidelines prevent the F.B.I. from focusing on the proper target. (Even if the underground apparatus can be located, the correct response is not to investigate it but simply to arrest its members.)

(*2*) *The Hanafi Muslims and the F.A.L.N.*: Donner claims that surveillance of the F.A.L.N. and the Hanafis prior to the Levi guidelines did not prevent violence; therefore, he concludes, the guidelines and other restrictions on intelligence gathering are not responsible for failing to prevent violence since they went into effect. All this proves, however, is that successful surveillance and investigation are not easy. In the case of the F.A.L.N. (on the investigation of which I did not dwell in Boston), a Puerto Rican terrorist group active since 1974, the only breaks in the investigation have occurred as a result of unsolicited tips. The F.A.L.N. underground structure is highly secretive, and even surveillance of the aboveground support structure did not prove effective. This is no reason to give it up, however, since even low levels of investigation can reveal targeting, adherents, financing, ideology and other important facts about a group.

With respect to the Hanafis, the point is that the withdrawal of informants from this group by the Washington Metropolitan Police Department during the near elimination of local police intelligence in the early 1970s obviated and made impossible any preventive action. "But if there is one thing about which we can be 'almost certain,'" writes Donner, "it is that the smaller the group, the tighter the security and the more difficult the access." This remark is simply meaningless. Security is a function of the procedures and discipline of a group and has nothing to do with size. Some large organized-crime families, for example, have far tighter security than all but the most sophisticated terrorist groups. Moreover, Donner's point is irrelevant, since there had been an informant in the Hanafis who had been withdrawn or dropped.

I have spoken with officers involved in this case, and without exception they feel that retention of the informant would have prevented the Hanafi hostage-taking in Washington in 1977, in which one person was killed. An informant in the group would almost certainly have known of the storage of arms, training and planning meetings, Hanafi surveillance of the targeted buildings, etc., and could have warned local police. Although the Hanafi case is not directly relevant to the Levi guidelines, it shows that the absence of surveillance enables the perpetrators of ideological violence to carry out their plans.

Similarly, the restrictions on the San Francisco police, while not Federal regulations, did impede investigation and apprehension of the Zebra murderers. The Black Muslim temple to which they belonged was eventually placed under mild photographic surveillance by *state* (not local) authorities in order to identify suspect members (some of them former convicts with records of violence), but this happened only two months before a defector from the group told police what he knew of the planned murders and the case was wrapped up. Had even this amount of surveillance been permitted earlier, photographs of suspects might well have been identified by witnesses and surviving victims, and lives could have been saved.

(*3*) *Jonestown*: A Department of Justice spokesman admitted shortly after the massacre that Representative Leo Ryan had asked the department to investigate the People's Temple, but the department "ruled out investigation into alleged brainwashing and physical abuse in religious cults because of fears such inquiries would violate constitutional guarantees of freedom of religion" (*The*

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Washington Post, November 25, 1978). Apparently, then, we have come to a point where brainwashing and torture are guaranteed by the Constitution! Donner, either ignorant of or reluctant to acknowledge this admission by the department, fantasizes that Jones's paranoia was fed by his delusion of being spied on by the F.B.I. and C.I.A. Perhaps, for that matter, it was the kind of paranoid drivel trumpeted by Donner and Jones's cohort Mark Lane about the intelligence community that instructed Jones.

(*4*) *The Maryland K.K.K.*: More directly relevant to the guidelines is the instance of the Maryland K.K.K. in which the F.B.I. withdrew its informant (i.e., ceased to receive reports from him) while the Maryland State Police kept theirs in the Klan and were able to prevent serious violence. The Bureau dropped its informant because of the Levi guidelines' time limits on the use of informants. Donner's attempt to refute this example is a foolish non sequitur. He points out that the F.B.I. and state police informant were the same individual. This fact, of course, has nothing to do with the F.B.I.'s loss of contact with him. The point is that because of the guidelines the F.B.I. could not prevent an act of terrorist violence. Fortunately, the Maryland authorities, not bound by Federal guidelines, did prevent it.

(*5*) *The Hinckley case*: It may or may not be probable that Hinckley's violent proclivities and trip to Washington, D.C., to shoot the President would have been detected by the F.B.I. In my mind there remains a large degree of probability that he would have been detected if the Nazi Party had been under investigation and if Hinckley had been tracked as a potentially violent individual. However, the main point is that the Nazi Party itself—a group with violent proclivities, attractive to extremists and eccentrics and advocating totalitarian dictatorship—is not under investigation because of the guidelines. F.B.I. spokesman Ed Gooderman admitted this to the editor of the conservative newsweekly *Human Events* shortly after the assassination attempt. If our religious life is to be elevated by brainwashing and torture, therefore, our political culture is to be enriched by vicious harangues in favor of genocide and totalitarianism, and Federal authorities will have no chance to keep track of nuts or prevent or warn of their provocative or violent activities.

Donner's general ignorance of the nature of contemporary terrorism and political violence reveals itself again, and in a major way, in his remark that:

> Francis wants us to believe that a continuum running from dissent to violence exists in American political life and that penetration of dissenting groups is necessary to prevent the violence. He ignores what students of political violence have long known—that violence-prone or terrorist groups have for almost a century and a half conflicted ideologically with nonviolent groups, even when they share the same goals.

Although I quoted or cited several authorities on terrorism, conflict and political violence in my remarks—none of whom Donner mentions—he does not refer to any to support this assertion, and we cannot know who his authorities are. Obviously there is a disagreement over tactics between violent and nonviolent groups. But in the history of terrorism, the latter often develop or fragment into violent groups. Such was the case with Students for a Democratic Society, for example, which moved from generally peaceful demonstrations through violent confrontations before fracturing into the Weathermen. The Black Liberation Army, an explicitly terrorist group, also developed from a faction within the militant but less violent Black Panther Party. There is also often a fringe element that, while it does not fully endorse violence, exhibits some sympathy or fascination with it and has some association with a terrorist or violent group. This is not to say that all those who sympathize with the stated goals of a terrorist or violent group are involved with, have endorsed or sympathize with violent methods, but the connections, or "continuum," are sufficiently real for law enforcement authorities to be aware of them and to make use of them for investigative ends.

Earlier in his article Donner makes another meaningless distinction between "isolated" terrorist acts, such as he claims predominate in the United States, and the "ideologically motivated terrorism prevalent in Europe today." I see no difference between "isolated" terrorism and "ideological" terrorism. Indeed, in most definitions of terrorism, ideological or political motivation is a key element. The forty-two terrorist incidents in the United States listed by the F.B.I. for 1981 (not all of them "bombing incidents," as Donner inaccurately claims the F.B.I. calls them) were all, as far as we know from available evidence, committed in the name of some aberrant ideology. It is true that some of the groups said to be involved are small, unsophisticated and only occasionally a serious threat. Others—such as the Puerto Rican and Armenian terrorists—have presented fairly serious problems for some time and promise to cause more trouble. Others still—such as the Communist Workers Party and some Iranian groups—may become serious threats. Donner appears to have no knowledge of these groups, and in his determination to refute everything I say, he minimizes the terrorist problem to an unrealistic degree.

In short, Donner has no understanding or knowledge of what he is talking about, and there is nothing in his article that effectively refutes or challenges anything I or other critics of the Levi guidelines have said. (Other critics include the chief of the U.S. Park Police, the past and present directors of the Secret Service, the general counsel of the Treasury Department, a host of local and state law enforcement intelligence authorities and another host of former F.B.I. agents.) Even when Donner is factually correct in his challenges, his facts are usually irrelevant. Donner was present at the session in Boston, but he remained silent during the discussion that followed. I wondered then why he did not participate, but it is now clear to me that he prudently chose not to make a fool of himself when I was present to respond to him. Instead, he wrote an article about my presentation that would be read by an audience that was not present and could not know what I had said. Unable to refute my case, he resorts to insults to me, to Senator Jeremiah Denton ("a bumbling primitive") and to Senator John East (the "master of the paranoid style," a "tiger," a "fervent ideologue eager for the limelight").

Apart from the polemical weakness and intellectual poverty that Donner's tactic displays, this kind of vituperation is really a bit too thick coming from him. In the 1950s, Donner was identified as having been a Communist in the 1940s. When afforded an opportunity to refute the sworn allegations, he declined and refused to answer the question (though he later denied that he was a Communist at the time he was questioned). It is not for me to say whether Donner is, was or ever has been a supporter of Joseph Stalin, but until he has at least clarified these allegations, the rest of us—particularly Senator Denton, who has served his country heroically—should not have to suffer his foul mouth. I would have thought that Donner's colleagues in the American Civil Liberties Union, so zealous in arguing for the protection of civil liberties, even for Nazis to march through Jewish neighborhoods, would have sought some public clarification from him. Was he a Communist or not, and if he was, how did he make the transition from a Stalinist to a stout defender of civil liberties? In his lifelong quest to ridicule and insult anti-Communists, when has he ever turned his bile on the internal terror and foreign crimes and aggression of the K.G.B. and its grim sister services?

Indeed, it matters little to me whether Frank Donner ever was a Stalinist or not. On the evening before my remarks in Boston, Donner insisted on making a speech himself, though, I was told, he had not been invited to do so. He treated us to an incoherent, rambling and delusive diatribe on the alleged conspiracies of the C.I.A., the F.B.I., the "McCarthy period," the "New Right" and all the other bugaboos of the old left. Refusing to sit down and allow the scheduled program to proceed, he was finally led away by the chairman of the conference, to the snickers of the audience, revealed for what he is: an aging phony, a relic of irrelevance, an incomparable bore.

Samuel T. Francis
Legislative assistant to
Senator John East

Frank Donner's reply will appear next week.

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BOOKS & THE ARTS.

After Quiche, What?

DAVID SUNDELSON

THE CHEZ PANISSE MENU COOKBOOK. *By Alice Waters. Random House. 312 pp. $16.95.*

Cody's Books is on Telegraph Avenue, the main artery of South Berkeley and a street that belongs to the city's reputation for radical protest, along with old battlefields nearby like Sproul Plaza and People's Park. Cody's is still the place for serious items you won't find in Crown Books—recent psychoanalytic theory, the new novel by that brilliant young Czech—but Berkeley has changed. The business of most undergraduates is now Business, and a less strident ideology has replaced Free Speech and Stop the Bombing. Its home is North Berkeley, not the persistently scruffy Southside, its accent is French, and its principal shrine is a restaurant called Chez Panisse. Restaurants and ideology may not seem to go together, but in Berkeley, some signs are conclusive. This month, one of the display windows at Cody's is given over to a single work, copy after copy in orderly rows: *The Chez Panisse Menu Cookbook* by Alice Waters, the restaurant's owner.

The Bay Area is now peppered with charming little places that claim a connection with Chez Panisse, but the restaurant's influence is most obvious in its own neighborhood. Across the street is a charcuterie called Pig by the Tail, whose owner was Chez Panisse's first chef; in another direction is a rival establishment called Le Poulet. Next to Pig by the Tail is the gourmet cheese shop referred to in the *Cookbook*, and in the same block are a luxury produce market and a Japanese fish market whose elegant displays of sushi add to the heady atmosphere. Several years ago, an enterprising developer opened Walnut Square, a small complex of specialty shops with an accent on food and handicrafts, and now there are two imitation complexes within the same four-block area. One should not forget Cocolat, a French pastry and confectionery shop with a clean, austere look and astonishing prices, or the competing candy store across the street, which specializes in less refined but still pricey items like chocolate-covered figs. There are also two stores in the same block selling fancy kitchen equipment, a high-quality butcher, a small cafe or two with a European air, a specialty wine store and Piet's Coffee. Berkeley has come a long way from quiche.

As a guide to the new ideology, its content and tone and peculiar echoes of the past, *The Chez Panisse Menu Cookbook* is worth its weight in gold—or in chocolate truffles from Cocolat. From the 1960s come the values or at least the rhetoric of the counterculture. First and most important is an emphasis on feeling. "Positive feelings about food" are crucial for both diner and cook. After learning about "genuine involvement with food," the diner will begin to suspect that mere eating is an unworthy act. For a cook, the right spiritual condition is indispensable. "Even an ambivalent cook is a bad cook," Waters writes ominously and adds, to keep us from falling back on vulgar expertise or effort, "technical skills can be acquired and perfected along the way, but dislike or ambivalence toward food cannot always be overcome." On the other hand, cooking done in the proper way is also therapy. "Cooking, preparing food, involves far more than just creating a meal for family or friends: it has to do with keeping yourself intact." The implicit argument is shaky in its logic but reassuring: true cooking begins with true feeling but can also create or restore it.

The *Cookbook*'s emphasis on feelings goes along with another legacy of the 1960s: admiration for the simple and natural. "Pure" and "simple" are recurrent words, and the author mourns for "children who will not remember or will never know the taste of real food." There is an entire section of "uncomplicated menus," and much attention is paid to salads made of humble if somewhat unusual greens, like rocket. At times, however, the lady protests too much: "I always eat salads, even those served at the dining-room table, with my fingers."

Like Dickens's wealthy and calculating Mrs. Merdle, Waters is "pastoral to a degree, by nature," but just as they do for Mrs. Merdle, the pastoral ideals clash here with other ambitions and realities. One of the realities is money. "Profit was always secondary," the author writes about the early days of her restaurant, and perhaps it was and is, but dinner there now costs $35 a head. In fact, throughout the book, Waters is forced to admit that her sort of simplicity is not cheap. The "Notes on Ingredients" are especially candid. "There is simply no substitute for fresh truffles," one of them begins, and the bossy tone is pervasive: "we have discovered that the most delicious rice dishes demand the use of Arborio rice from Italy . . . expensive, but well worth the investment." It is dishes and menus that "demand" or "require," not the author; what is a cook to do but choose between economy and excellence?

Excellence, as the author defines it, clashes even more dramatically than economics with her pastoral rhetoric. Even the four-page recipe for bouillabaisse included in an "uncomplicated" menu is less daunting than the frequent appearance of words like "faultless" and "perfect," even if they only apply to a melon. For all her praise of invention and personal taste, the author's ideal is "the meal as a work of art," and the ideal is exacting and even tyrannical. "Marrying the elements of a meal correctly so as to achieve that elusive equilibrium requires an understanding of each separate course and its importance within the overall structure of the menu." A displaced scientific rigor peeps out of the language here; the very word "correctly" is enough to banish invention to the silly games of schoolchildren. Cooking, my friend, is a serious business.

Of course Berkeley has always been serious, but in a braver time, that seriousness was applied to the Vietnam War and not to an apricot soufflé. The triumph of Chez Panisse represents a new privatism, a sad turn inward, away from public issues and commitments. The counterculture has become a Counter Culture—the counter at the gourmet butcher, the pastry shop, the charcuterie. The echoes of old concerns are still with us, but the *Cookbook* shows how we have changed. "Aesthetics" is the ruling term in its vocabulary; life must be pretty. "Understanding," "philosophy" and "ideology" now apply only to the kitchen, and as hero and

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model, Waters offers us Dodin-Bouffant, her favorite fictional gourmet, from Marcel Rouff's *The Passionate Epicure*: "Everything in his life was tied in to gastronomic enjoyment. . . . His inspirational discourses on the subject of total eating have exhilarated and influenced me in countless ways." □

The Devil and Mr. Milosz

LEWIS HYDE

VISIONS FROM SAN FRANCISCO BAY. *By Czeslaw Milosz. Translated by Richard Lourie. Farrar, Straus and Giroux. 226 pp. $14.95.*

Our 1980 Nobel laureate in literature believes that "a demonic presence," the Prince of This World, Satan himself, is at work in America.

No. Let me come at this from a different angle.

Czeslaw Milosz, the Polish poet who has made his home in California for the last twenty years, does not believe in the Devil. He believes in modern science. In particular, he finds himself unable to deny the theory of evolution, whose implications he sees as determined by the nineteenth-century observation that individual creatures suffer and die "in the name of a splendid and enormous transformation without purpose or goal." Milosz is grudgingly sure we can never return to that hierarchical world in which man knew he lived below the gods but above Nature.

And yet to approach this brilliant, gloomy series of essays I found I wanted to begin with the Devil, because Milosz's argument becomes most resonant when he allows himself to speak in that pre-Darwinian voice that takes the Evil One seriously as a force in human affairs.

Visions from San Francisco Bay at first appears to be an exile's attempt to ground himself in the geography of his adopted home. But the longer we read, the clearer it becomes that the concerns of the book go back to Milosz's childhood in Catholic Lithuania. As a grammar school student, Milosz was drawn to the study of natural science. But something happened. "Halfway through high school," he explains in *Native Realm*, his autobiography, "I delivered my first talk: on Darwin and natural selection. It was just at this time that my crisis began." Darwin plunged the adolescent naturalist into a period of doubt. If Nature's law is murder, wherein lies the goodness of God? If everything has evolved from slime, are humans really any different from crabs and slugs?

Milosz eventually found respite from doubt in the description of the Manichaean heresy offered by his manual of Church history. The Manichaeans believed that forces of darkness oppose forces of light. Their heresy was to hold that darkness is equal to, or at least independent of, light and therefore that evil is not part of a larger, divine plan, suffering does not bring us closer to God and matter cannot be redeemed.

In these essays, as elsewhere, Milosz's response to the apparent conflict between science and Catholicism is to mix the more stringent portions of each. He finds an affinity between science's tendency to reduce our animal suffering to statistics and the Church's tendency to devalue all things creaturely—Nature, the body and sex. He is not happy with Darwinism, but he has not rejected it. He has accepted it as a fuller explanation of what the priests of Mani always taught: Nature is not good.

What does all this have to do with the San Francisco Bay? These essays render the landscape of the American West in a Darwinian language tinged with a Catholic mistrust of the physical world. Thus, for example, Milosz confesses to "a sort of anxiety upon seeing caterpillars or worms swarming on a stump or a piece of meat, and the same cylindrical shapes, the same blind squirmings of sea lions on a block of basalt jutting out of the sea." Only a neo-Manichaean could find sea lions reminiscent of worms. Or people of insects: "Beetles moving their mandibles in thousands of restaurants . . . clinging together in pairs on the sand, then suddenly they age, stiffen, and die, their dry chitinous casings are burned in crematoria or placed in the earth."

I should make it clear that this disgust is only one of Milosz's moods and that he is well aware of its limitations. But it is the dominant mood of this book. In *Native Realm*, Milosz described the intellectual drama of his high school years as a battle between the humanists and the priests. The priests, certainly, have not been defeated. Milosz will always be indebted to them, as he told us in that book, for his "sensitivity to the odor of brimstone," his "almost unhealthy conviction that sexuality is evil" and his basic dualism. Man is a twofold creature, he believes, a mixture of light and dark, and in this century the power of darkness has been underestimated.

Visions from San Francisco Bay is not, in fact, a book about nature or exile. Its subject is the frailty of modern civilization. It is an attempt to imagine how we are to proceed given that we are twofold creatures, confined to a world in which spiritual hierarchy has collapsed, and enamored of a rationalism that has separated the true from the good, science from ethics. This is not a sentimental book; Milosz does not reject science, nor indulge in dreams of primeval innocence, nor try to reinvoke the lost powers of God, as others have done who have stumbled in these marshes. But how then are we to proceed?

Curiously, Milosz places his faith in history—curiously because this Eastern European exile is no Marxist and Marxists often seem to hold the copyright on the word "history." "The threads spun by our ancestors do not perish," he declares, "they are preserved; we alone among living creatures have a history, we move in a gigantic labyrinth where the present and the past are interwoven. That labyrinth protects and consoles us, for it is anti-nature."

And yet this labyrinth does not always shelter us, as Milosz knows. Precisely because we are twofold creatures there is no way to assure that our collective creations will be emanations of light rather than darkness. In fact, Milosz judges modern civilization, Eastern and Western, to be very dark indeed. American culture seems to him the product of forces that are lower than we are and yet more powerful (he quotes with guarded approval the Moloch section of Allen Ginsberg's "Howl": "Moloch whose blood is running money!"). And in the Communist nations, where Marxism has glorified necessity, "the Prince of Lies put on a performance that made all his previous exploits pale by comparison."

Still, Milosz would save a remnant of the Marxist faith: "In modern times the great metaphysical operation has been the attempt to invest history with meaning." History reveals that the style of the present is not the only human style:

Lewis Hyde's book on art and property, The Gift, *will be published by Random House next February.*

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"By changing civilizations, time continually liberates new souls and bodies in man, and thus time is not a serpent devouring its own tail." Because the Marxist attempt to invest history with meaning has failed, we have, for the moment, lost our faith in history's revelations. But for Milosz it is our only hope. The style of the present is not the only possible style. He sums up with a parable:

> Once . . . walking down the street in a Polish village, I grew thoughtful at the sight of ducks splashing about in a miserable puddle. I was struck because nearby there was a lovely stream flowing through an alder wood. "Why don't they go over to the stream?" I asked an old peasant. . . . He answered: "Bah, if only they knew!"

There is much to disagree with in this book. The argument throughout seems to me skewed by the ritual scars with which the Catholic Church too often marks the minds of its adolescents. But, with that proviso, I must say that these are remarkable, morally serious and thought-provoking essays, which strive to lay aside the barren categories by which we have understood and judged our state. The book is not simply humanist or Catholic, Marxist or capitalist, right or left. It is a fine poet's attempt to see beyond the puddle. □

The Hunters and the Hunted

GAIL POOL

GONE TO EARTH. *By Mary Webb. Virago Press. 288 pp. $7.95.*

It is easy to be critical of Mary Webb's novels, their faults are so apparent—contrived plots, didactic tone, romantically idealized heroes and overly emotional prose. It is understandable that she has been reduced to a historical footnote, her five novels, hundreds of poems, essays and reviews all but forgotten. And yet, her best work is surprisingly powerful. The word "primitive," so often and justly applied to her lack of sophistication, applies as well to her major strength: the use of nature and myth, which gives her best novels the force of legend or fairy tale.

Webb's ability to integrate nature and myth into her fiction derives from her attachment to Shropshire, where she was born and grew up, and which she never emotionally left. Born Mary Gladys Meredith in 1881, the oldest of six children, she appears to have had an idyllic childhood, which contrasted strongly with her painful adult years. Just after Webb turned 20, she was stricken with Graves' disease, in which the thyroid gland is overactive and whose symptoms are nervousness, gastric difficulties and high temperature. Critically ill for six months and convalescent for much longer, Webb suffered repeated bouts of this disease which, combined with pernicious anemia, eventually killed her. Physical debilitation and the threat of new attacks must have shaken Webb's stability, but what appears to have affected her most was the change in her appearance. Her goiter and somewhat prominent, staring eyes were not, in the opinion of others, all that noticeable, especially during her healthy periods. But she viewed herself as crippled and ugly—an attitude that transformed a sensitive woman into an extremely vulnerable one.

Webb's vulnerability played an important role in shaping her relationship with Henry Bertram Law Webb, whom she met in 1908 and married in 1912. Webb's attachment to Henry and to Shropshire—vividly depicted in Gladys Mary Coles's biography, *The Flower of Light* (London: Duckworth)—was total. She felt she could not live without either, and nothing frightened her so much as the idea of their loss; the more frightened she grew, the tighter she held on. A move to London in 1921, undertaken for Webb's health and career, proved disastrous for both objectives. Too timid and perhaps too naïve for London literary society, desperately missing Shropshire, longing for a literary popularity that never came and aware of Henry's lessening need of her, Webb seems gradually to have lost her bearings, aggravating herself and her marital situation until she had lost her health and what she'd feared losing most, Henry. Although they never separated, Henry was cruel in his open involvement with another woman. Ill and depressed, Webb returned to Shropshire, where she died at the age of 46, just ten years after the publication of *The Golden Arrow*, her first novel.

Webb's relationship with Henry offers insight into her work's limitations. Although she wrote poems and essays throughout her 20s, she did not begin writing novels until after her marriage, and the idealized heroes of her fiction were based on her husband. This was true of Michael Hallowes in *The House in Dormer Forest*, and of Robert Rideout in *Seven For a Secret*, but it was particularly true of Kester Woodseaves in *Precious Bane*. Both Kester's idealization and his dashing rescue of the harelipped Prue Sarn in the book's strainedly happy conclusion mar what is otherwise a rich and unsettling work.

Of Webb's five novels, only *Gone to Earth* has neither an idealized hero nor a happy ending, and it is that tragic ending, its inevitability and the author's ability to confront it, that gives the book its power. Published in 1917, *Gone to Earth* was Webb's second novel. It was well received upon publication—Rebecca West, who reviewed it, called Webb "a strange genius"—and it is on this work, along with *Precious Bane*, that her reputation may at length be built.

Gone to Earth is the story of young Hazel Woodus and the two men who want her: Jack Reddin, the rough farmer-squire who awakens her to physical passion; and Edward Marston, the minister who marries her and seeks to awaken her to spiritual passion. Hazel—the daughter of a mute Welsh gypsy woman, dead for some years, and of a harpist-beekeeper-coffinmaker—is a wild, innocent spirit who wants to be owned by nobody. But Hazel is pursued by her fate with the same urgency with which the Black Huntsman and the phantom death pack—the central mythical figures of the book—stalk their prey.

Hunting, with all it represents, is the theme of *Gone to Earth*; the book's main opposition is that of the hunter and the hunted. Hazel, who is completely at one with nature, finds her friends among the wildlife; her closest companion is her pet fox, Foxy. For Hazel, "hounds symbolized everything she hated. . . . She identified herself with Foxy, and so with all things hunted and snared and destroyed." At one point, Reddin, who owns hounds and does hunt, tortures a hedgehog against Hazel's protests until it screams:

Gail Pool has written on literature and women's issues for The Washington Post, Wilson Library Bulletin *and* The Massachusetts Review.

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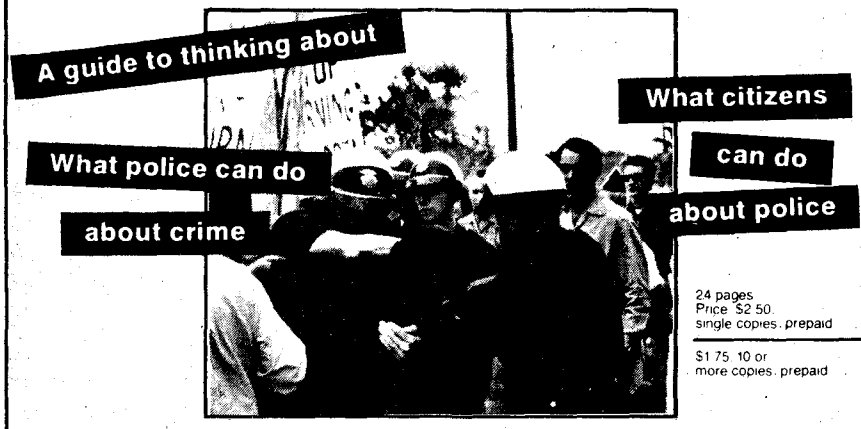
By Mae Churchill, Urban Policy Research Institute



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a thin, piercing wail, most ghastly and pitiful and old, ancient as the cry of the death's-head moth, that faint ghostly shriek as of a tortured witch. Centuries of pain were in it, the age-long terror of weakness bound and helpless beneath the knife, and that something vindictive and terrifying that looks up at the hunter from the eyes of trapped animals and sends the cuckoo fleeing in panic before the onset of little birds. Hazel knew the sound well. It was the watchword of the little children of despair, the password of the freemasonry to which she belonged.

Hazel's relationship with Foxy eventually emerges as the most satisfactory friendship in the book. Hazel alone accepts Foxy as she is. When Foxy steals a chicken and Hazel's father threatens to drown the pet, Hazel tells her: "You was made a fox, and you be a fox, and its queer-like to me, Foxy, as folk canna see that. They expect you to be what you wanna made to be. You'm made to be a fox; and when you'm busy being a fox they say you'm a sinner!"

Reddin and Marston, by contrast, do not even see Hazel for what she is. Each falls in love with, and seeks to attain, what he wants. Reddin, who lusts after her and lures her away from her husband, cannot see that he has destroyed not only her sexual innocence but also her spiritual innocence. Marston, who worships Hazel's innocence and refuses to defile it by consummating their marriage, cannot see that Hazel is not all spirit, that she craves physical love. As Reddin and Marston each lives out his image of himself, Hazel is split in two and ultimately destroyed.

Webb has drawn a powerful portrait here of two men's relationships to a woman, but it would be a mistake to interpret that portrait as feminist. For Webb, women are fulfilled through their relationships with men: "A woman who has not supremely given herself is not supremely herself," she wrote in *Seven For a Secret*. Although the failure of love in *Gone to Earth* is central to the novel, Hazel is not a symbol of downtrodden womanhood. She symbolizes something larger: downtrodden life, anyone or any living thing hunted, trapped, caught, used.

From the story's inception, Hazel is doomed. In the end, the Black Huntsman and the death pack come to life. The hunt is on: Foxy has escaped from Marston's home, and the hounds are on her scent. Hazel finds Foxy, holds her close and runs. The huntsmen shout to

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Hazel to drop the fox or the hounds will rip her to shreds. In her panic, Hazel sees Reddin, who is a member of the hunting party and is actually trying to help her, as the Black Huntsman himself; Marston, who is close by, she does not see at all—he remains, as always, the savior who does not save. Still clutching Foxy, Hazel leaps into the quarry to her death.

Gone to Earth is a compelling book, carried along by sheer energy. Its faults are plain to see: Hazel is innocent beyond belief, Reddin physical beyond belief, Marston spiritual beyond belief, the plot itself beyond belief in every way. And yet, at its core is something all too believable: a vision of the relentlessness of human cruelty:

> For the death-pack hunts at all hours, light and dark; it is no pale phantom of dreams. It is made not of spirit hounds with fiery eyes . . . but of our fellows, all that have strength without pity. Sometimes our kith and kin, our nearest intimates, are in the first flight; give a view halloo as we slip hopefully under a covert; are in at the death. It is not the killing that gives horror to the death-pack so much as the lack of the impulse not to kill. One flicker of merciful intention amid relentless action would redeem it. For the world is founded and built up on death, and the reality of death is neither to be questioned nor feared. Death is a dark dream, but it is not a nightmare. It is mankind's lack of pity, mankind's fatal propensity for torture, that is the nightmare. When a man or woman, confronted by helpless terror, is without the impulse to save, the world becomes hell.

In Webb's philosophy, which sustains the best of her work, the individual's relationship with nature parallels his or her relationship with fellow human beings: if kindness, cruelty or sensitivity characterizes one set of relationships, it will characterize the other set as well. In her weaker novels, philosophy overwhelms fiction—with excessive romanticism in *The Golden Arrow* and *Seven For a Secret*, with didacticism in *The House in Dormer Forest*. But in *Gone to Earth* and *Precious Bane*, ideas give dimension to the narrative.

Although Webb may never be viewed as a major writer, she is certainly worth reading, and Virago Press deserves thanks for bringing *Gone to Earth* back into print. Erika Duncan's introduction is unfortunate, though, in its gushy and clichéd language ("And through Hazel, at a time when women could not really fly or sing, Mary Webb gave all of us this stirring woman's song") and in its several inaccuracies including, inexcusably, a misreading of the book's conclusion, for Hazel is not torn limb from limb. But the edition makes a timely appearance and may awaken readers to Webb's work. Perhaps in time, critics will acknowledge Webb's novels without the obligatory reference to their many flaws, and readers will enjoy them without apology. □

Ironies of Love and Art

GERALD JAY GOLDBERG

AUNT JULIA AND THE SCRIPTWRITER. *By Mario Vargas Llosa. Translated by Helen R. Lane. Farrar, Straus and Giroux. 374 pp. $16.50.*

On the same day and out of the blue (i.e., Bolivia), two strangers enter the life of the teen-age hero of this contrapuntal comic romance from Peru. Eighteen-year-old Mario—who, like most Peruvians, has an antipathy toward Bolivians—expects very little from either of them. He is destined to be astonished by both, as his Aunt (by marriage) Julia and Pedro Camacho (the scriptwriter of the title) independently overwhelm him with undreamed-of possibilities of love and art. It is this initiation that is at the heart of Vargas Llosa's funny and tender new novel.

The action takes place in the early 1950s. On some other planet, the Korean War is busy killing people; but for Mario, even though he is the news director of Radio Panamericana, there are only the faintest hints of real battles, real blood. At home, Gen. Manuel Odría is in power, but the dictator (a lover of soap operas) turns out to be about as fearsome as the Wizard of Oz. "In those long-ago days, I was very young," Mario begins his story, recalling Miraflores, the wealthy section of Lima, where he grew up surrounded by a vast, protective army of relatives. Living quietly with his grandparents, he dreamed of a Parisian garret and a writer's life.

Enter Aunt Julia. An attractive 32-year-old divorcée, she at first infuriates Mario by treating him like a child and ends up driving him wild with desire. Holding hands, taking long strolls, engaging in intense romantic conversations, gazing into each other's eyes, smooching at the movies, rubbing knees discreetly in cafes, they fall in love. Their courtship is a playpen of innocence. Even the premarital consummation of their love is handled so tastefully, so swiftly, that it could hardly bring a blush to a school board's cheeks.

It's a sweet story and would, of course, be quite unacceptable to contemporary readers if it were not for Vargas Llosa's detachment and comic vision. Although the Peruvian author's given name is also Mario and his first wife, to whom the book is dedicated, happens to have been named Julia, this portrait of the artist as a young man is as ironically distanced as Joyce's. "I'm eighteen years old," Mario insists, presenting himself to his love as a man of the world. "And I lost my virginity five whole years ago." This is a very young Mario, indeed, with his five *whole* years; although he matures in the course of the narrative, the fact that he continues to call his beloved "Aunt Julia" even after they are married tells us how far he has yet to go.

If Aunt Julia provides the love of the novel, Pedro Camacho is its very life. He has been brought to Lima by Radio Central (sister station of Radio Panamericana) to write soap operas, and he does so nonstop. Soon he is turning out ten half-hour serials a week, and acting and directing as well. Despite his appearance—he is a dwarflike man with a huge nose and shoulder-length hair—Camacho is hardly a clown. To Mario, who longs to dedicate himself to art, the humorless little man's passionate commitment to his work is awesome.

Camacho's soap-opera episodes are interlarded with Mario's account of his romance. When he tells Aunt Julia that her vision of their relationship is right out of the serials, she points out that there are few love affairs in Camacho's soap operas. "It's quite obvious," she says, "that *you* never listen to them."

Had Mario listened more often, he would have known that his friend's serials specialize in murder, rape, knifings, incest, arson, accidents, financial ruin, psychological disorders, castra-

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Heart Payments *(Viking) is Gerald Jay Goldberg's most recent novel.*

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tion, cataclysms and constipation. Lima loves them, and Camacho becomes the toast of the town. As in all good melodramas, many of Camacho's characters are either "the very soul of rectitude and goodness" or homicidal maniacs. Emotions are exaggerated; violent plots advance by means of chance, only to end in the suspense of withheld revelations.

There are so many bizarre events in each episode that few listeners pay any attention to the idiosyncrasies of the scriptwriter: his conviction that one's 50s are "the prime of life"; his obsessive hatred of Argentines. But then characters begin to change their identities, or migrate from one soap to another. Dr. Quinteros, a respected Lima gynecologist in one serial, for example, is given so many different medical specialties in the others that all by himself he could staff a major South American hospital. What began as idiosyncrasy ends in confusion and madness. Seeing figures he had previously rubbed out spring to life, Camacho realizes that his mind is playing tricks on him. The driven writer decides to start fresh. In a hilarious, blazing, apocalyptic sequence, he brings his work to a smashing conclusion, after which he is carted off to the booby hatch. These soap operatics—extravagant comic fantasies blending violence and farce—give the novel an extraordinary vitality.

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HOW MY LIGHT IS SPENT

"Eyes are certainly not necessary
to animals having subterranean habits."
Darwin, *The Origin of Species*

On the subway you thought
it couldn't happen to you. But now
the doctors are dazzling in white, Science
burns in your eyeball: white-equals-black.
At last
the true dark falls like an eyelid.
In the waiting room, your hand reaches out
for a white cane: the dark
is an old home, you live there
in the caves of childhood,
with your lovers in lamplight,
with the brown hair of your beautiful sisters.
In the down elevator you think:
but everybody sees. What you see
in the shine of the car is Science,
dazzling in white, Darwin
dissecting his blind
barnacles; you see moles, bats,
fins in the murk
of a thousand fathoms; now
you know better. At the door
daylight staggers you; hands over face,
you find the subway. There,
in dim fluorescence: the Byzantine
mosaic of the walls,
I-beams rich with perfect rivets,
the silver splendor of the rails,
and from a green bench, as the gorgeous
graffiti scream in,
a woman in a crimson sweater
rising like the sun.

Philip Appleman

From *The Time of the Hero* to *Conversation in the Cathedral*, Vargas Llosa has consistently attempted works of structural complexity, and his latest novel, with its alternating sections of realism and fantasy, is no exception. Here the charming frame story of Mario's coming of age is used by the author to anchor the surrealistic daring of the soaps. What is particularly remarkable about *Aunt Julia and the Scriptwriter* is the skill with which the two story lines are fused and the way they shed ironic light on each other. Although Camacho's melodramas skimp on love, Vargas Llosa shows us that Mario's romance is also a kind of soap opera. Chance plays its part here, too. As a result of "one of those coincidences that logicians loathe and poets love," the teen-ager's affair with his Aunt Julia is revealed to the astonished family. An urgent letter is sent to Mario's parents in the United States. Livid with rage, his father appears on the scene in all the villainous colors of melodrama, and Aunt Julia is instantly banished from Peru. "As for you," he tells Mario, "I should like to inform you that I am armed and will not allow you to make a fool of me." Although he threatens to put five bullets through his son's body and kill him "like a dog," he does nothing of the kind. Vargas Llosa is, after all, half a realist.

In the last chapter of *Aunt Julia and the Scriptwriter*, the novel's roller-coaster energy is entropically lost and its gaudy playland lights turned off. Lima twelve years later is a gray, middle-aged place of shabby successes and squalid failures. Who could have imagined Pedro Camacho, that Napoleon of soaps, working as a messenger? And who could have imagined a thirtyish Mario—who was once prepared "to kill a whole bunch of people" to win the enchantress he adored—divorced after eight years of marriage to Aunt Julia and now with a bourgeois new wife demanding that he "toe the mark" or else?

It is a sad ending. If there is a glibness in the details, a tendency to be too tidy about loose ends, the romantic sense of the innocence and passion that have been lost is still quite moving. In better days Pedro Camacho had said, "I'm a man who can't abide halftones, murky waters, weak coffee." Although as adept as his unequivocal scriptwriter at the major scale of melodrama, Vargas Llosa can also play chromatics. His

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halftones lend subtlety to a book that would otherwise be merely a delight. □

FILMS.

ROBERT HATCH

Lola
Tempest
Le Beau Mariage

In a time when the screen seems almost given over to prodigious "special effects," mass slaughter and vacuous horror, it is reassuring to come upon three movies that deal seriously with the loves and rivalries of credible men and women. They are Rainer Werner Fassbinder's *Lola*, Paul Mazursky's *Tempest* and Eric Rohmer's *Le Beau Mariage.*

Of these, perhaps surprisingly, the least venturesome is *Lola*. It is the second in Fassbinder's trilogy about women in postwar Germany, the first being *The Marriage of Maria Braun* and the third, *Veronika Voss*, one of the late director's final pictures, which opens the New York Film Festival on September 24. *Lola* is set in the 1950s, but its brutish decadence recalls the tone of German artistic revulsion in the era between the wars—the savage drawings of George Grosz and, almost specifically, Joseph von Sternberg's *Blue Angel*. Its protagonist is a man of almost reprehensible innocence, who finds himself surrounded by the implacable cynicism of sexual license and illicit wealth.

Fassbinder was a good hater, and he flays his characters with the rage of an Old Testament prophet. At the same time, *Lola* is his visual masterpiece. Every set, every detail of costume and gesture conveys his savage discontent. In particular, his use of color is extraordinary, the hero moving in an aura of devitalized gray light, while the society around him disports itself in strident neon. There are moments of intimacy when the man appears to be photographed in black and white, while his companion is flattered by the lush cosmetics of technicolor.

But the contrast, though visually stimulating, is too arbitrary; it makes the denouement not only inevitable but readily predictable. Herr von Bohm (Armin Mueller-Stahl), a sweet-tempered man of scrupulous intentions, has been appointed town planner of a provincial city. Once there, he comes into

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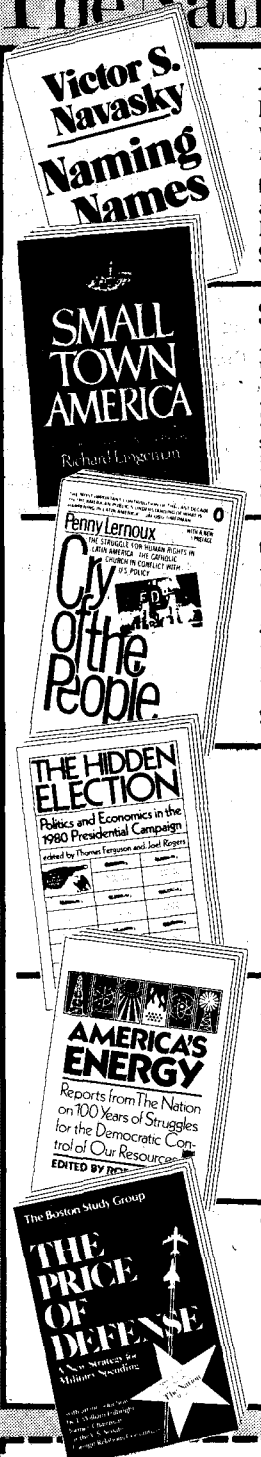
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conflict with Schuckert (Mario Adorf), the local housing developer, owner of the casino/brothel and of the mayor, lover of Lola, the casino's star singer. Schuckert is a synthetically good-natured bully, much given to popping cigars into other men's mouths and to slapping women on the fanny. Von Bohm is no match for him, or for Lola, who sees that if she manages to ensnare this awkward newcomer to Gomorrah she can demand a place among its movers and shakers. She dons a polka-dot dress and a demure look, bats her lashes and the job is done. It must be said for von Sternberg's hapless professor (Emil Jannings) that he was tormented by his degradation. Von Bohm, by contrast, seems almost simple-minded in his infatuation and slides into the pit with hardly a ripple. But then Fassbinder is more implacable than his predecessor, ending the tale with von Bohm's consummation of his fatuous idyll and denying him the dignity of the pain to come. The film, thus, is punishing as a reflection of its director's personal despair, but less effective as a tragedy of untempered rectitude overwhelmed by greed.

In no sense is Paul Mazursky's *Tempest* to be taken as Shakespeare in modern dress, though it might fairly be called Shakespeare revisited. It is exhilarating to observe how well Prospero's island can serve the supposed needs of a New York architect who is seized by the psychological cramps of middle age and disgusted by the compromises that wealth and arrogance have forced on his art. Mazursky was himself clearly exhilarated by the sport of fitting together the bits and pieces of this Elizabethan/twentieth-century collage, and the picture is longer (well over two hours) than it needed to be. However, it plays like the merriest of exemplary masques.

There is a darling Miranda (Molly Ringwald), who meets her godlike Ferdinand, a smart kid called Freddie here. There is a Caliban (Raul Julia), who leers and cringes, boasts vaingloriously and plays shepherd's airs on a clarinet for the gratification of his goats. There are the exiled genius of the island, now called Phillip (John Cassavetes), and his wicked boss (Vittorio Gassman), who hires him to build casinos at Atlantic City and calls him brother, Mafia-style. He has stolen Phillip's wife (Gena Rowlands), rather than the dukedom. There is Ariel as a vagabond young woman (Susan Sarandon) with whom, to her intense frustration, the self-punishing, self-denying hero insists on maintaining a liaison blanche.

Indeed, Phillip abstains (and obliges his companions to abstain) from all the amenities and drives of overachieving America, which were the cause (so he believes) of the shattered life whose dissolution we see in flashbacks. There is to be no sex and no television; pizzas and cokes are out of reach, as are computer printouts and conference calls. They will live in a ruined fisherman's hut (a most picturesque one), build a Greek theater with their bare hands (for what company?), feed on feta cheese and praise the sun and the rain.

Tempest thus is a variation on Mazursky's preoccupation (*An Unmarried Woman, Blume in Love*, etc.) with the discontents of affluence and license. Phillip flees the fleshpots, mistaking their artifacts for the substance of his malady. But on the blessed island of renunciation, the fox still gnaws and the underlings grow mutinous. As a last defense he provokes a great storm, and the world rides in on its crest. Thanks to the women, all of whom love him better than he deserves, Phillip attains a happy ending, and the performance closes with a traditional curtain call, signifying that we have attended a parable and are now returned to our normal ways.

In the past, Mazursky has seemed willing to spend a great deal of anxiety on essentially trivial people. The Shakespearean allusions in *Tempest* lend its players symbolic overtones that enrich and broaden their characterizations. Also, the movie is touched with the mischievous wit of its great source, and with a forgiving wisdom that reduces the wisecracking misanthropy of much contemporary dialogue to conceit and evasion.

Thanks to enthusiastic reviews and, I suspect, the cheerfulness implicit in its title, Eric Rohmer's *Le Beau Mariage* is drawing immense crowds in New York City. I wonder how well the audiences like it. In the first place, it ends inconclusively, which is normal enough for Rohmer, but not typical of hit movies. More generally, it is a comedy whose humor is a little bleak. And, like all Rohmer films, it is highly conversational.

The central figure is Sabine (Beatrice Romand), who lives with her mother and sister in Le Mans, where for half

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the week she works in an antique shop. The rest of the time she is in Paris, studying art history and having an affair with a married painter much older than herself. One night, as they are making love, the phone rings; it is the man's son, back from camp and full of adventures to which his father responds with affectionate enthusiasm. As they talk, Sabine dresses, and when the call ends she announces that the affair is also at an end. She will no longer be an appendage to his life. Instead, she declares, she will marry and have a life of her own.

It is an excellent decision, this cutting of losses and starting afresh. Of course, there's the question of finding a suitable man to marry, but on that score Sabine has no misgivings. It is a matter merely of discrimination and resolution, and in those qualities she feels herself well equipped.

Her best friend's cousin (André Dussollier) shows up. He is handsome, a successful lawyer, compatible in tastes and interests, and unattached. She does him a favor; he takes her to lunch. She invites him to a party; he arrives late and leaves hurriedly, after an awkward few minutes in her bedroom. She resorts to the phone; he is out or busy and does not return her calls. In short, he is in every way the man for her, except that he does not take to the idea. It is exasperating, as Sabine makes clear in a scene that sweetens tears with slapstick, but when last seen she is embarked on another pursuit.

The quality of the film rests in the performance of Romand, an actress endowed with the fascinating capacity to seem quite plain or very beautiful as different emotions cross her face. Under Rohmer's direction, she becomes distinctly lovable but at the same time not very attractive. It is an intriguing ambiguity. She is no longer a girl and not yet a woman; the transition is uneasy. Sabine is almost rigid with self-confidence, a state that both amuses and alarms those near to her.

Film makers tend to glorify and indulge their youthful characters. Mazursky does so in *Tempest*, though with Shakespeare's Miranda as a model, he could scarcely do otherwise. Rohmer and Romand treat youth with dismayed affection. Their Sabine is a person much to be cherished and scarcely to be endured. The ending, as I said, is inconclusive; you can only keep your fingers crossed. □

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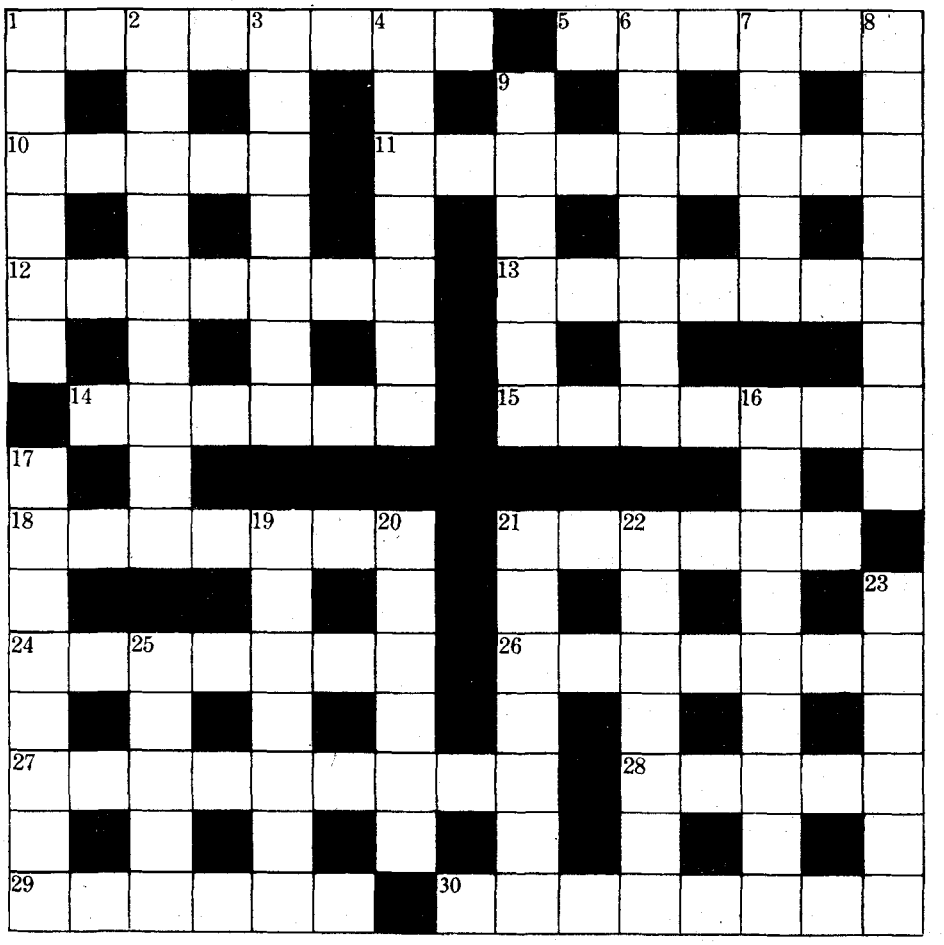

ACROSS

1 Stays with children about a day in France. (8)
5 Stamp out liquor! (6)
10 Turns over easy, like a sort of 25. (5)
11 Make mine sugar! (You might count the number of feet doing it.) (9)
12 Any isle could be blissful, in a way. (7)
13 Look carefully! Quiet—there's a bug around it! (7)
14 Strange things are supposed to, to the mind—it's a bad place to get stuck with a broken leg! (6)
15 Came out of port in the old days? Everything sort of dies around it here . . . (7)
18 . .*. but the above sort just seems to waste time . . . (7)
21 . . . and losing 50, could still organize standards of perfection. (6)
24 Most troubled when in a sort of spider, but might make a double ringer, as they say. (7)
26 Does it take diplomacy to lie badly—especially having feeling for it? (7)
27 How careless drivers often succeed with their cars, shifting slightly to the right, usually. (9)
28 In a way, 10 shows one way to get home safely. (5)
29 Sounds as though one worked on the rolls as being necessary. (6)
30 Extravagant way to move stock before one gets to fall behind the wrong way. (8)

DOWN

1 A sort of 21 across went with the wind. (6)
2 Sweet stuff for the old jazzman. (5,4)
3 Take down what might be used for the rest of the sailors. (7)
4 One is somewhat shaken to hold what belongs to me, as one suggested for the office. (7)
6 It might be good advice, as it could be made to unclose the assembly, one hears. (7)
7 What thou hast is this in the making. (5)
8 The culminating point called, as they used to say, with the die being shaken. (4,4)
9 Not men of 1 down's potential. (6)
16 Not really counting how long one is sick, this implies inappropriate choice of the moment. (3-6)
17 Taking up a cause with some leeway in the matter of publicity? (8)
19 0.03937 inches, in short, seen erroneously to be very large. (7)
20 Though definitely not in the shade, the head of state gets kept in the dark. (6)
21 With the rein loose, get up inside, with a number definitely not mixed so. (7)
22 Finished with dinner? You might wish to be. (7)
23 About that calf, could you show a little something this way? (6)
25 Does a crab sort of 28? (5)

SEE SOLUTION TO LAST WEEK'S PUZZLE AT LEFT

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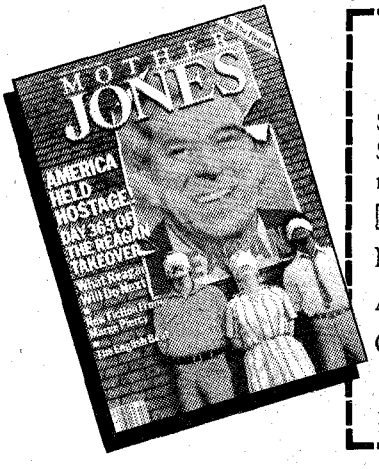

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